

H. E. C.

2015-2

Clarke

INTRODUCTION
AND
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
UNREASONABLENESS AND INJUSTICE
OF
PERSECUTION,
AND ON
THE NECESSITY OF
UNRESTRICTED RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

BY THOMAS CLARKE.

VOL. II.

Large paper, bound in brown leather, and half of cloth, with
a paper to each of the two volumes, and a paper to each of the
two volumes, in which the author has inserted a list of the
names of the persons who have been persecuted, or who are
persecuted, by reason of their religious opinions.

LONDON:

R. J. GOLDSWORTHY,

AT THE CHURCH, FINE

1822.

HISTORY
OF
INTOLERANCE;
WITH
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
UNREASONABLENESS AND INJUSTICE
OF
PERSECUTION,
AND ON
THE EQUITY AND WISDOM
OF
UNRESTRICTED RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

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VOL. II.

"Little does he know of human nature, and less of gospel charity, who expects to root out the prejudices either of individuals or of societies by unkindness, to extinguish animosity by violence, or a spirit of revenge by want of confidence."

WATSON, late Bishop of Llandaff.


LONDON:

B. J. HOLDSWORTH,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD.

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1823.

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HISTORY OF INTOLERANCE, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

The subject continued, from the time of Zeno's elevation to the Eastern Empire, to the reign of Heraclius.

HE who will acquaint himself with the artifices of ecclesiastical polity and warfare, must collect the energies of his mind, and prepare for an intricate and arduous undertaking. To scrutinize and appreciate justly the characters of individuals and societies, whose schemes and achievements fill the pages of history, we must lay aside indolence and carelessness, and explore, with cautious industry, the faithful records of departed ages and generations. The feeble and irresolute will turn with sickly disdain from a task so rough and forbidding; but let it be remembered, that in so doing, they decline one of the most comprehensive and admonitory branches of human knowledge.

Leo, the emperor of the east, gave his daughter Ariadne in marriage to Zeno, who was descended of an illustrious family in Isauria. Leo conferred on his son-in-law the rank of patrician, and appointed him captain of his body guards, and commander-in-chief of all his armies. A short time before his death, the emperor enacted some severe laws against the Arians, depriving them of their churches and of the liberty of holding private assemblies. Leo expired A. D. 475, soon after which, Zeno came into the undivided possession of the empire.*

The character of Zeno the emperor, and of Zeno the founder of the Stoic philosophy, are as opposite as can well be imagined. The latter, according to Evagrius, in the room of setting his subjects an example of virtuous conduct, gave himself up, in the most public manner, to every species of intemperance and profligacy, not excepting those of the worst repute. But his indulgence in unmanly and criminal excesses was soon disturbed by the success of an usurper. Basiliscus, brother to the empress Verina, took up arms and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, at

* When admonished by age and infirmities of his approaching dissolution, Leo was about to nominate Zeno as his successor; but he was deterred from his design by the senate and people of Constantinople; and it was chiefly by the influence of the empress Verina, that Zeno was raised to the imperial dignity.—*Evagrius, Eccles. Hist. Book II. chap. 17.*—*Universal History, Vol. XVI. 153.*

the news of which, Zeno, acting the poltron, as he had done the debauchee, fled, and took refuge in a castle of Isauria. But though Basiliscus had the boldness to begin a revolt, he had not sufficient ability to conduct it to a prosperous issue. He was naturally avaricious, and he gratified his avarice by acts of misrule and extortion; he was inclined to severity, and he had not the address to make his inclinations yield to his circumstances; and he was so imprudent as to show an unseasonable and intolerant zeal for the doctrines of Eutyches. The want of policy ruined the cause of Basiliscus; his friends forsook him, and the emperor was restored.

Under the usurpation of Basiliscus, there happened a tremendous conflagration at Constantinople, which raged with unconquerable violence for the space of four days, and reduced many magnificent buildings to heaps of ruins. Among the public edifices destroyed by the flames was the library, which is said to have contained one hundred and twenty thousand volumes.

As Zeno obtained, so he held, the throne rather by a train of happy incidents, than by the ascendancy of his genius and courage. His feeble administration showed but too plainly his incompetence for affairs of State; but he makes a more respectable figure in the history of the church. The christian profession was dishonoured, and the peace of the empire disturbed, by the hostile factions of ecclesiastical demagogues.

Every government under which religious opinions are interwoven with the civil administration, will be subject to frequent agitation from similar causes. To decide the controversies in debate among the contending parties, successive acumenical councils were called. But it would seem that the authoritative definitions and decrees agreed to in the learned assemblies of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, rather enraged than composed, the flames of controversy and discord. It would be easy to prove the transmigration of human opinions. The errors of the Ebionites, of the Docetæ, and of the followers of Cerinthus, under new names, and in different forms, still furnished the theological combatants of the east with the occasions of warfare. But in the violent alteractions occasioned by the opinions of Arius, Nestorius, and Eutyches, it is reasonable to suppose that the passions of the disputants were often excited by other motives, than the love of truth. To this evil, the emperors themselves had contributed by lavishing upon the church superfluous wealth. Nevertheless, when they perceived that the commotions of the church shook the pillars of the state, they thought it their duty to interpose; but in some cases their interposition, by giving additional importance to the subtle speculations of the contending parties, encreased rather than lessened, the evil. So difficult is it to legislate in matters of opinion.

If it will not be thought immodest to hazard an opinion on a difficult, but important subject, it may be observed here, that a prince ought never to interfere as a party in the religious differences of his subjects. It is his duty to protect and foster with impartial justice and kindness all the people of his dominions; but while he discourages vice and encourages good morals, he ought to treat matters of opinion as foreign to his jurisdiction. The simplest remedies are often the best, but they are not always the first thought of.

In the council of Chalcedon were assembled no less than six hundred and thirty bishops. The oriental doctors had disputed with disgusting vehemence on the mysterious doctrines of the divinity and incarnation of the Son of God. It was the business of the council to dissipate the mists of ignorance and prejudice, and to put the truth in such a luminous point of view that all might see it. It was also the duty of this synod to censure and punish the pride and cruelty of Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria. But in both these leading branches of their business, the members of the council were by no means happy. The bishops of the east but ill accorded with those of the west; while some were for pronouncing an anathema against Nestorius and Eutyches, others opposed; and even the flagitious Dioscorus was not without his friends. In the event of the meeting, however, the epistles of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, and of

Leo, bishop of Rome, were agreed to as containing the orthodox faith. The first of these epistles was directed against Nestorianism, and the second, against Eutychianism.

The decisions of the council of Chalcedon were no sooner known in Egypt and Syria, than they were treated with the utmost scorn; and the infuriated Polemics shewed the virulence of their zeal in acts of sedition and bloodshed. To allay these scandalous and deadly animosities and to establish durable concord, was the laudable design of the celebrated Henoticon of Zeno. This imperial instrument of union is preserved in the third book of Evagrius. It is drawn up with art, and seems suited to moderate the ardent spirits of that age. It gives a compendious statement of the faith of Nice, of Constantinople, and of Ephesus; and pronounces a solemn curse on all those who impugn the divinity of Christ, or deny his humanity: it likewise distinctly condemns such as divide Christ, confound his human and divine natures, or say that his body was a mere phantasm. As the authority of the council of Chalcedon was a point on which the jarring factions were at variance, it was politic in the emperor to take no particular notice of it. The Henoticon dilates on the pernicious effects of strife and schism as destructive alike to the temporal prosperity of the state and the spiritual glory of the church; and insinuates that divisions are excited by the devil who is conscious of his inability to withstand the united assaults of the faithful.

It does not appear that these efforts of the emperor of the east to promote peace and unity in the church, were beheld with a favourable eye by the clergy of the west; perhaps, they thought he took too much upon himself in presuming without their concurrence to define articles of faith, and to give religious instruction. In the reign of Zeno, a dispute arose between Felix, bishop of Rome, and Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, who excommunicated each other.

In the death of Zeno, which happened in the year four hundred and ninety-one, Anastasius, one of the *Silentiarii* or ministers of silence, was raised to the purple. Immediately after his elevation, the empress, Ariadne, gave him her hand, and he succeeded at once to the throne, and to the bed of the late emperor. Anastasius was sixty years old when he was crowned, and he reigned twenty-seven years. His private life had been distinguished by temperance and integrity, on which account the people who thronged the circus, when he received the diadem, shouted with one voice, "Reign Anastasius, as you have lived." The new emperor encreased his popularity by remitting all money due to the Exchequer, and by utterly abolishing the odious tax called *chrysargyrum*, or the gold of tribulation, which was levied every fifth year, on all merchants and tradesmen, and even on beggars and prostitutes. To prevent the restoration of the *chrysargyrum* all documents relating to it were publicly burnt.

The religious character of Anastasius is variously represented ; he has the triple honour of being called a Manichee, an Eutychean, and an Orthodox believer. The suspicion of heresy is confirmed by the well known circumstances that his mother was a disciple of Eutyches, his uncle, of Arius, and that he himself was disposed to be tolerant towards all, except those whose zeal transported them to break the peace. As he loved quiet, and hated novelties, especially in religion, he let the churches remain as he found them ; he allowed the bishops to act as they pleased respecting the council of Chalcedon, and while some received its decrees others pronounced their anathema, and others said nothing.

The fame of Anastasius was far from encreasing with his years ; and the tranquillity of the closing scene of his life was disturbed by a furious explosion of intolerant zeal. The discrimination of the oriental disputants was so nice, and their passions so lively, on every question connected with their disputes, that a sermon, a prayer, a hymn, or even a single word, was sufficient to spread the flames of controversy from the centre to the extremities of the empire. About the middle of the fifth century, it became a current opinion in the east that the words *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts*, in the vision of Isaiah, constitute the precise anthem in which the bright orders of the heavenly world, eternally celebrate the praises of God. And, that the worship of the saints below,

might the more perfectly resemble that of the angels and seraphim above, a hymn was composed on the model of these words, which the Greeks called *trisagion*, or, *thrice holy*. The threefold recurrence of the word *holy* was supposed to make this ascription of praise a more explicit act of worship to the Trinity; hence, as a subordinate object, it might serve as a trap to catch Arians. But if this advantage was anticipated from it by some, the watchful policy of others endeavoured to make it suitable to other purposes of equal dignity. Peter, surnamed, Gnapheus, or fuller,* patriarch of Antioch, added, immediately after the apostrophe, *who hast suffered for us upon the Cross*. His design in this is supposed to be, to fix the more deeply in the minds of the worshippers, the Eutychean doctrine of *one nature* in Christ. But Peter's adversaries of the western community extracted a still more deadly poison from his innovation, and accused him of teaching that the whole Trinity suffered on Mount Calvary; hence they who approved of the hymn as used at Antioch were called *Theopaschites*. This was a dispute too congenial with the spirit of the times to be confined to any one particular place, or to die away without being attended with serious effects. In the year five hundred and eleven, on the day of a public procession, the magistrates of Constantinople, and the servants of Anastasius,

* A trade which he had exercised while a monk.

(probably in conformity with the instructions of their master), sang the *trisagion* with the addition *who was crucified for us*. The ears of the orthodox were offended with the noxious sounds of heresy; some, filled with indignation, abandoned the procession, while others boldly resolved to sing their sacred anthem without the impious appendage. After the adverse choristers had sufficiently tried their strength in singing, without producing conviction on either side, they had recourse to the more decisive arguments of blows and missiles. In this affray several lives were lost, the solemnity of divine worship was violated, and the cathedral polluted with blood. But the storm had not yet spent itself. The emperor took the liberty of imprisoning some who had been active in the outrage; but their cause was espoused by the patriarch, Macedonius, and the crown and the mitre were staked on the issue of the contest. The orthodox monks rallied around the standard of their primate, led forward the populace, and communicated to them the inspiration of their own infuriated passions. The insurrection continued three whole days and nights, during which time the insurgents employed themselves incessantly in vociferating their *trisagion*, murdering their opponents, and burning the city. The unfortunate monks who were friendly to the views of the emperor, were, in a particular manner, singled out as the victims of popular rage. One of these, found in the house of Marinus Syrus,

was instantly beheaded, and his head carried about the city on a pike, the multitude shouting, *This was an enemy of the Trinity*. The infatuated mob got possession of the keys, and the military ensigns of the city; and as the person of the emperor was not within their reach, they indulged their malice in demolishing his images and statues. Two senators were sent to appease the tumult, but they were driven back by a shower of stones. At length the emperor was obliged to submit, and, quitting the asylum in which he had been hid, to appear on the throne of the circus, without the insignia of royalty, and implore the compassion of his subjects.

In the mean time, Vitalian, general of the emperor's cavalry, raised a numerous army of Huns and Bulgarians, and at the head of these fierce idolaters, declared himself the abettor of the catholic faith, and threatened to depose his master, unless he immediately complied with the wishes of his orthodox subjects. The menaces of Vitalian were not idle words; he soon proved himself in earnest by devastating Thrace and Mæsia, and laying siege to Constantinople. We must now advert to the state of affairs in the west.

While the imperial sceptre of the east trembled in the feeble hands of Zeno and Anastasius, Theodoric was king of Italy. In the eighth year of his age, this young barbarian, descended of the royal house of the Amali, was sent as a hostage to the court of Constantinople. After spending ten years in the abodes of luxury and science, Theodoric

was restored to his countrymen, the Ostrogoths, who rejoiced in the warlike attributes of their future sovereign. Like a true born native of the forest, Theodoric held the polite arts in perfect disdain, and continued so ignorant of the first elements of literature that he was never able to write his name. On the death of his father, Theodoric, our youthful hero who had already signalized his courage by the defeat of a Sarmatian king, succeeded to the hereditary throne of the Amali. But the subjects of Theodoric, stung with hunger and cold, found that their wants could not be supplied by making war on barbarians as poor and as fierce as themselves; and therefore resolved to quit the sterile fields of Pannonia for the rich and luxurious neighbourhood of the eastern capital. The timid policy of the Byzantine court suggested the expediency of securing the friendship and assistance of these warlike emigrants, who were forthwith received into pay and entrusted with the defence of the lower Danube. But the erratic habits and voracious intemperance of the Ostrogoths prevented their being long satisfied with their new settlements. The penetrating eye of Theodoric saw the spirit of discontent and insubordination rising among his subjects; and, as the most effectual method of allaying it, proposed to the emperor of the east the invasion of Italy. "Although your servant," said he, "is maintained in affluence by your liberality, yet graciously listen to the wishes of my heart! Italy, the inheritance of your pre-

decessors, and Rome itself the head and mistress of the world, now fluctuate under the violence and oppression of Odoacer, the mercenary. Direct me, with my national troops, to march against the tyrant. If I fall, you will be relieved from an expensive and troublesome friend: if, with the Divine permission, I succeed, I shall govern in your name and to your glory the Roman senate, and the part of the republic delivered from slavery by my victorious arms." The Byzantine court, unwilling to offend, and unable to support, their numerous tribes of fierce retainers, readily acceded to the wishes of Theodoric, who commenced a march of seven hundred miles, through inhospitable deserts, in the midst of an inclement winter. After several skirmishes with the hordes of independent warriors who opposed his progress, Theodoric made a quick descent from the Julian Alps and displayed his standards on the confines of Italy. Odoacer had prepared to receive his adversary with the skill and courage of a veteran in arms; and the land of the Muses was about to become the theatre of a contest between two barbarous adventurers whose lives and fortunes depended on their swords. Three obstinate and bloody battles terminated in favour of the assailants, and Odoacer was compelled to shut himself up within the strong fortifications of Ravenna.

After holding out, and occasionally making desperate sallies on the besiegers, for the space of

three years, the besieged were obliged to capitulate: soon after the capitulation, Odoacer was treacherously slain at a banquet, and Theodoric became undisputed master of all Italy with its appendant islands, which he governed with wisdom and glory, during a reign of thirty-three years.

At this time the catholics were divided by two extensive schisms; the first was between the churches of the east and the west; and the second between two powerful factions in Rome. The holy see being vacant, Symmachus and Laurentius were elected to fill it on the same day, and neither was disposed to resign in favour of the other. In the management of this dispute, the spirit of faction shewed but little regard to the rules of decency and order. Theodoric was an Arian; and this simple circumstance that the contending parties agreed to submit the merits of their quarrel to his decision, is an eloquent panegyric on the wisdom and moderation of his government. The sentence of the king was 'That he should continue bishop of Rome who was first elected, and who had the greater number of voices.' In virtue of this sentence, Symmachus was confirmed in the pontificate; but his enemies accused him of many crimes, and presented a petition to the king requesting that he would appoint a delegate to re-examine the cause. Peter, bishop of Altinas, was appointed, who deposed Symmachus, and thereby renewed the schism and filled the city with anarchy, rapine, and bloodshed: "many ecclesiastics were

beaten to death; virgins were robbed, and driven from their habitations; many laymen were wounded or killed." To put an end to these disorders, Theodoric called a council, in which, the bishops acquitted Symmachus without entering into an investigation of the particular charges alleged against him; they prevailed so far by their importunity, that the king was satisfied with this sentence, and both the people and the senate who had been very much irritated against Symmachus, were pacified, and acknowledged him for Pope.* Differences in religion have often produced animosities between sovereigns and subjects; but we have here the grateful spectacle of an Arian prince, directing the counsels and promoting the unity of the catholic church.

The mild climate of Italy did not dissolve, at once, the native fierceness of its new settlers, and some collisions of jarring passions and interests occasionally disturbed the public tranquility; nevertheless a bright gleam of prosperity enlightened the political horizon under the reign of Theodoric. At a time when it was thought glorious to lavish the *mammon of unrighteousness* on ecclesiastical foundations, Theodoric shewed his respect for the religion of his subjects by presenting to the church of St. Peter a pair of silver candlesticks of the weight of seventy pounds.

* Dupin, Biblioth. Eccles. Vol. I. 527.—Fleury, Hist. Eccles. Tome VII. 92, 99.

Cardinal Fleury notices it as a remarkable circumstance, that the offering of an Arian prince was accepted.* But as heresy does not often assume so pleasing a shape as that of massive silver candlesticks, we ought to applaud the wisdom which appears in this act of condescension.

The last days of Theodoric were gloomy. The suspicious policy of old age had induced him to pass sentence of death on Boethius and Symmachus, two virtuous Romans of consular rank. When by the silent course of time, or the progress of decay, the life of man approaches to a close, a casual incident, a phantom of imagination, the recollection of a crime, or the anticipation of punishment, may accelerate the hour of dissolution. It happened that the head of a large fish was served up on the king's table, from which he suddenly started with horror, exclaiming, that he saw the angry face and glaring eyes of Symmachus, threatening revenge and destruction. The appalled monarch retired to his chamber and his bed, where he died, expressing remorse and penitence, after an illness of three days. It should be observed that Boethius and Symmachus were accused of disaffection to the person and government of their prince, and of holding a treasonable correspondence with the eastern cabinet.

The general voice of history has pronounced an honourable verdict on the talents and virtues

* Hist. Eccles. Tome VII. 245.

displayed by Theodoric in the government of Italy ; still, however, the odious appellation of *persecutor* has been given him. The silence of some of our most respectable guides in history on this subject is perplexing. Mr. Gibbon has collected, chiefly from the Valesian Fragments, some scattered hints which may enable us to appreciate the justice with which this infamous appendix is affixed to the name of Theodoric.—“The religious toleration which Theodoric had the glory of introducing into the christian world, was painful and offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians. They respected the armed heresy of the Goths ; but their pious rage was safely pointed against the rich and defenceless Jews, who had formed their establishments at Naples, Rome, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, for the benefit of trade, and under the sanction of the laws. Their persons were insulted, their effects were pillaged, and their synagogues were burnt by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome, inflamed, as it should seem, by the most frivolous or extravagant pretences. The government which could neglect, would have deserved such an outrage. A legal enquiry was instantly directed, and as the authors of the tumult had escaped in the crowd, the whole community was condemned to repair the damage ; and the obstinate bigots who refused their contributions, were whipped through the streets by the hand of the executioner. This simple act of justice exasperated the discontents of the catholics, who ap-

plauded the merit and patience of these holy confessors ; three hundred pulpits deplored the persecution of the church ; and if the chapel of St. Stephen at Verona was demolished by the command of Theodoric, it is probable that some miracle hostile to his name and dignity had been performed on that sacred theatre. At the close of a glorious life, the king of Italy discovered that he had excited the hatred of a people whose happiness he had so assiduously laboured to promote ; and his mind was soured by indignation, jealousy, and the bitterness of unrequited love. The Gothic conqueror condescended to disarm the unwarlike natives of Italy, interdicting all weapons of offence, and excepting only a small knife for domestic use. The deliverer of Rome was accused of conspiring with the vilest informers against the lives of senators whom he suspected of a secret and treasonable correspondence with the Byzantine court. After the death of Anastasius the diadem had been placed on the head of a feeble old man ; but the powers of government were assumed by his nephew Justinian, who already meditated the extirpation of heresy, and the conquest of Italy and Africa. A rigorous law, which was published at Constantinople, to reduce the Arians by the dread of punishment within the pale of the church, awakened the just resentment of Theodoric, who claimed for his distressed brethren of the east, the same indulgence which he had long granted to the catholics of his dominions. At his stern com-

mand the Roman pontiff with four illustrious senators, embarked on an embassy, of which he must have alike dreaded the failure or the success. The singular veneration shown to the first Pope who had visited Constantinople was punished as a crime by his jealous monarch; the artful or peremptory refusal of the Byzantine court might excuse an equal, and would provoke a larger measure of retaliation; and a mandate was prepared in Italy to prohibit, after a stated day, the exercise of the catholic worship. By the bigotry of his subjects and enemies, the most tolerant of princes was driven to the brink of persecution; and the life of Theodoric was too long, since he lived to condemn the virtue of Boethius and Symmachus.*

Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theodoric, erected a splendid monument to her father, on an elevated site, commanding an extensive prospect of the city of Ravenna, the gulph of Venice, and the adjacent coast. The dominions of Theodoric were divided between his grandsons: Spain was given to Amaleric, and Italy to Athalaric.

After the demise of Anastasius, the imperial throne was filled by Justin, an illiterate peasant of Bederiana, situate on the confines of Illyria and Thrace. While a youth, Justin abandoned the humble occupations of husbandry for the fortunes of war; and from being a common sol-

* Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. iv. 26.

dier, rose to the rank of pretorian prefect. A powerful eunuch, according to Evagrius,* had formed the design of bestowing the purple on Theocritus, one of his creatures; and for this purpose entrusted a large sum of money to Justin for distribution among the guards and the people: but Justin distributed the money in his own name, and was in consequence proclaimed emperor. Justin was sixty-eight years of age when he was crowned; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that in an age not absolutely barbarous, the empire of the east, and the kingdom of Italy, to which the science of the world was confined, were governed by two contemporary sovereigns, neither of which knew the letters of the alphabet.† But though Justin was ignorant of almost every thing but war, he had the good sense to adopt as the heir of his private fortune, and to associate with himself as the future guardian of the empire, his nephew Justinian, an artful and enterprising youth whom his uncle had brought from the wilds of Dacia to be educated at Constantinople. Justin survived his elevation to the throne upwards of eight years; but as life was too much on the ebb for him to make any conspicuous figure in the arduous toils of government, and as his policy was the same as that pur-

* Eccles. Hist. Book, IV, Chap. 2.

† Il (Justin) étoit âgé de soixante—huit ans quand il vint à la couronne, ignorant jusques à ne scavoir pas lire; mais bon Catholique.—*Fleury Hist. Eccles. Tome VII. 197.*

sued under the long and eventful reign of his successor, we shall pass at once to the history of Justinian. He was invested with the purple four months before the death of his uncle, which took place in the year five hundred and twenty seven, and he swayed the imperial sceptre thirty eight years seven months and thirteen days. Although the splendid circumstances of Justinian must have given him irresistible charms in the eyes of noble and aspiring ladies, yet he made a very humble choice: he passed by the families of patrician rank and hereditary wealth, to raise to the pinnacle of human grandeur Theodora who had been trained up by her indigent mother to earn her subsistence by the comic art. The morals of this fortunate young harlequin were as lax as her birth was obscure; and as she was the slave of Venus before her marriage, so she was the patroness of heresy afterwards. She is praised for her beauty; but she had some enemies who were not to be awed into respect by the dignity of her station, nor softened into tenderness by the charms of her person, and they took the liberty of changing Theodora, *the gift of God*, into Demonodora. But it is not denied even by those who inveighed with bitterness against her speculative errors, that she reformed her life, that she endowed a spacious asylum for the reception of unhappy females who had left the path of virtue and were disposed to return to it, and that she was exemplary in her devotion. That she attained and held, to the

close of her life, the first crown in the world, without any of the advantages of family, riches, or education, is an irrefragable proof of her wisdom and address; but she is entitled to more distinguished praise for that, being so unfortunate as to believe amiss, she did not impose her heretical creed on her subjects, and that she moderated and restrained the intolerant zeal of her orthodox husband.

Entering on the reign of Justinian, is, in respect to his immediate predecessors, like exchanging a dark and confined vale, for an eminence commanding the extensive prospect of champaign country, ornamented with towns and villages, and presenting all the variety and abundance of art and nature. The empire, under the auspices of Justinian presents a busy scene; and in taking a comprehensive glance at his designs and works, the eye is in danger of being distracted by their multiplicity and diversity.

Many of the chief towns and fortifications of the empire were in a dilapidated state when Justinian came to the throne, and to their restoration he directed the riches of his exchequer. Antioch and Corinth, which had been destroyed by earthquakes, rose from their ruins with augmented splendor. Military walls and forts of prodigious extent, were erected to defend the richest parts of the empire from the incursions of the barbarians; and the streights of Thermopylæ, the natural bulwarks of Greece, were strengthened by art.

The historian Procopius wrote six books concerning the Imperial Edifices by which the wide extent of the empire was ornamented under the reign of Justinian. Of these the church of Sancta Sophia eclipsed the glory of all the rest, and after braving the destructive vicissitudes and storms of thirteen centuries, still stands, a stately monument of the public spirit of its founder. The porphyry and granite of Egypt, and the marbles and jaspers of Greece, with all the varieties of costly gems and precious metals, were profusely employed to give strength and beauty to this structure. The temple of St. Sophia had been twice destroyed by fire since the days of Constantine; and to guard against the recurrence of this calamity, Justinian instructed Anthemius, his architect, to employ no wood except in the doors of the new temple.

The agriculture and manufactures of the empire were not neglected by Justinian. There is one instance of his success in the promotion of European trade which deserves particular notice. Silk had been long known to the Greeks and the Romans as an article of elegant luxury, but they were very imperfectly acquainted with the manner of its production. The price of it was exorbitant. In the reign of Aurelian a pound of silk was worth at Rome twelve ounces of gold. The Persians were enriched by purchasing the silks of China and vending them in the markets of Europe; and it was grievous to the patriotism and the faith of

Justinian to see a branch of commerce so lucrative engrossed by enemies and idolaters. The wishes of the emperor were unexpectedly gratified by one of those happy incidents which sometimes crown with success the bold projects of enterprising men. Two christian missionaries had made their way from the coast of Malabar into the heart of China, and there seen, with laudable curiosity, the whole process of the silk manufacture. The missionaries relinquished their spiritual avocations, and set off for Constantinople, to reveal to a christian emperor the mysteries of nature and art with which they had acquainted themselves. They met with a cordial reception at the Byzantine Court, and returned, stimulated with rewards and promises, to accomplish their arduous undertaking. The bombyx, or silk worm, was too tender and short lived an insect to admit of deportation from China to Constantinople ; but the eggs, by being kept cool, might be safely conveyed, and as easily hatched, by the application of heat, at the end of the journey. A sufficient number of eggs was sily procured and carefully packed in a hollow cane. When arrived at their destination, they were quickened into life by artificial heat ; they lived, and toiled, and were fruitful, in a foreign climate, and for new masters ; and to the descendants of this colony of young insects, the ladies of Europe are still indebted for the silken attire which gives additional elegance to their graceful forms.

Machiavel affirms that *the principal foundations of all states are good laws and good arms ; and the*

reign of Justinian was distinguished by the feats of martial heroism, and the toils of juridical wisdom. This emperor was trained both to the science and the practice of war in his youth; but when his character was formed he showed less of the spirit of Romulus than of Numa. And if the temper of Justinian rendered him averse to camps and battles, he was happy in the services of a General whose military talents were equal to any emergency. The warlike name of Belisarius will always be connected with glory in the minds of those who can see glory in vanquished armies, heaps of slain, and subverted kingdoms. This general had the honour of signalling his valour and address in each quarter of the world then known; he led the armies of the empire against the Persians in Asia, the Vandals in Africa, and the Ostrogoths in Europe. Victory delighted to follow the steps of her favourite; and the horrors of conquest were mitigated by the severity of discipline in the victorious armies, and by the exercise of clemency and compassion towards the conquered.

No sooner was the power of the Vandals of Africa destroyed than Arianism and Donatism were proscribed, and the immunities and authority of the orthodox established. The destruction of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy also was facilitated by the partiality of the Romans to Justinian as the defender of the true faith. A momentary enthusiasm of religion and pa-

triotism was kindled in their minds. They furiously exclaimed, that the apostolic throne should no longer be profaned by the triumph or toleration of Arianism; that the tombs of the Cæsars should no longer be trampled by the savages of the north; and without reflecting that Italy must sink into a province of Constantinople, they fondly hailed the restoration of a Roman emperor as a new æra of freedom and prosperity. The deputies of the pope and clergy, of the senate and people, invited the lieutenant of Justinian to accept their voluntary allegiance, and to enter the city, whose gates would be thrown open for his reception.* It should be remarked, however, that the Jews of Naples were of a different opinion; they had acquired extensive wealth by commerce, and they knew that it was dangerous for heretics to be rich under an orthodox government.

We hasten to contemplate the reign of Justinian by the light of jurisprudence and theology. M. Dupin gives Justinian a niche in his *Bibliotheca* of ecclesiastical writers, and justifies the deed by observing that “ never prince did meddle so much with what concerns the affairs of the church, nor make so many constitutions and laws upon this subject. He was persuaded that it was the duty of an emperor, and for the good of the state, to have a particular care of the church, to defend its faith, to regulate external discipline, and to employ the civil laws, and the temporal power, to preserve it in order and peace.”

* Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. IV. Chap. 41, 145.

When it is considered that the Roman consulship and the Schools of Athens became extinct under the reign of Justinian, a presumption arises that his administration of public affairs, was not favourable either to science or liberty. Yet if the licence of an absolute monarchy was the desire of his heart, he had the policy not to make any bold and direct approaches to it ; for the chief work of his reign was the revision and republication of the Roman law. In the lapse of a thousand years, the acts of legislative authority had become so numerous, so complicated, and, in some instances, so contradictory, that a reformation of the whole body of imperial jurisprudence was become absolutely necessary. To execute the intended reformation, the most learned and skilful civilians of the empire were assembled, at the head of whom was the celebrated Tribonian, the quæstor. By the first labours of this college of civilians, the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian, codes were abridged and methodised into twelve books which composed the new code of Justinian. As soon as this work was perfected, a still more difficult and laborious one was undertaken, which was to collect, compress, and arrange, the comments of the Roman lawyers on difficult points of law, which was done in fifty books, called the *Pandects*. To the *Pandects*, which contained an abstract of two thousand treatises, and were supposed to embody the shrewdest answers and solutions that had ever been given to the most subtle

questions of law and equity, were added the Institutes, or elements, of law, for the instruction of youth. The exertions of Justinian in this important branch of government were concluded by the publication of his *Novellæ Constitutiones*, or Novels, which amount to the number of one hundred and sixty-eight. Many of the Novels relate to ecclesiastical affairs, a few of which may serve as a sample of the rest. "The third novel regulates the number of the clergy of the great church of Constantinople, and fixes it to sixty priests, one hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, ninety sub-deacons, one hundred and ten readers, twenty-five chanters, and one hundred porters. It contains also, that it shall not be lawful for clergymen to remove from a less church to a greater, and that the possessions of the church shall be employed for the maintenance of the poor, and other pious works."

The forty-third grants to the great church eleven hundred shops free from taxes, and deprives all others of the same privilege.

The vast number of useless clergymen was so great a charge to the churches and the people, and it was so difficult to prevent it, that Justinian was forced to make another novel, wherein he forbids to ordain clergymen for the great church in the room of those who die, wishing them to take of those who are supernumerary in the other churches. The eighty-sixth empowers the bishops to oblige the judges to do justice to parties.

and also to judge them when the judges are suspected.

The hundred and thirty-first is divided into several chapters, the first of which enacts that the four first councils shall be received; the fourth renews the ancient rights and privileges of the church of Carthage; the seventh ordains that he who has begun to build a church, shall be compelled to finish it; and the eighth forbids the celebration of the holy mysteries in private places.

The hundred and forty-sixth novel allows the Jews to read the bible in the hebrew, and in latin according to the hebrew, but forbids them to use any greek version except the septuagint. It ordains also that those of the sect of the Sadducees, who teach that there is no judgment nor resurrection, shall not be permitted to hold any assembly.*

To give a just outline of the theological, and legislative character of Justinian, is by no means an easy task. His actions, like his laws, were not always harmonious. He instituted a severe inquisition against paganism; yet it is doubtful if some of his chief ministers and favourites, as Procopius, the historian, Tribonian, the quæstor or chancellor, and John of Cappadocia, the prefect, were not pagans. It would seem that the severity of the persecution against the unfortunate Gentiles fell chiefly on those who had not wealth

* Dupin's Hist. of Eccles. Writers, Vol. I. 547.

or influence to parry it off: but these were not the only sufferers.

“ A bishop was named as the inquisitor of the faith, and his diligence soon discovered in the court and city, the magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and sophists, who still cherished the superstition of the Greeks. They were sternly informed that they must choose without delay between the displeasure of Jupiter and Justinian, and that their aversion to the gospel could be no longer disguised under the scandalous mask of indifference or impiety. The patrician Photius perhaps alone was resolved to live and to die like his ancestors: he enfranchised himself with the stroke of a dagger, and left his tyrant the poor consolation of exposing with ignominy the lifeless corpse of the fugitive. His weaker brethren submitted to their earthly monarch, underwent the ceremony of baptism, and laboured, by their extraordinary zeal, to erase the suspicion, or to expiate the guilt of idolatry. The native country of Homer, and the theatre of the Trojan war, still retain the last speck of his mythology: by the care of the same bishop, seventy thousand pagans were detected and converted in Asia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria; ninety-six churches were built for the new proselytes; and linen vestments, bibles, and liturgies, and vases of gold and silver, were supplied by the munificence of Justinian.”*

* Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. IV. Chap. 47, 489.

Evagrius* is both explicit and loud in reprobating Justinian's insatiable desire of money, but while he accuses him of making all things venal to amass riches, he acknowledges that he was so bountiful, that he built many holy and gorgeous churches, and erected many other houses where both men and women, old and young, who were afflicted with sundry diseases, might receive all necessary care and assistance. He adds, that he wrought many other good deeds, no doubt very acceptable to God, if they had been done *of his own proper goods*, and had been accompanied with a sacrifice to God, of a life and conversation without spot or blemish.

It was not enough for Justinian to be the head of the christian church; he took upon himself to dictate to the Jews, and to require that they should keep the passover at the same time as the christians kept easter. The same laws which harrassed the Jews, aggrieved the Samaritans, who forgot to be patient; and united in a turbulent rebellion. The exasperated insurgents spread the calamities of revenge and anarchy all around them; but in the event they were compelled to yield to the superior numbers and discipline of the orthodox legions. This foolish attempt to convert, by violent means, an unhappy people from the errors of their religion, turned a fertile and populous district into a dreary solitude; and

* Eccles. Hist. Book IV. Chap. 29.

it has been observed that the intolerant Moham-
medans made their way into the empire through
the province which had been desolated by the
bigotry of Justinian.

Evagrius* gives his readers an account of the
miraculous preservation of a hebrew boy which
took place at Constantinople in the time of Jus-
tinian. "There was a good old custom, he says,
that if there remained any portions of the imma-
culate body of Christ one God, young children
who went to school should be called to eat them.
It so happened that a son of a certain Jew, who
was by trade a manufacturer of glass, partook,
among others, of the remnants of consecrated
bread, which so enraged his father that he threw
him alive into the furnace in which he made his
glass. As soon as the child was missed by his
mother, she sought him with sighs and tears
through the city, and on the third day found him
in the midst of flames from which she rescued him
uninjured. Justinian, hearing of this, thought
good that the boy with his mother should be
baptized, and that the father who refused to be-
come a christian, should be hanged."

As the most exalted monarchs are doomed to
die, and to rise again from the grave, they have
the same personal interest in the truths of reli-
gion as other men, and therefore ought not to
be expected to pass by the doctrines and duties
which look forward to another life, in order to

* Eccles. Hist. Book IV. Chap. 35.

He at perfect leisure to attend to the affairs of this. But when a civil magistrate, who has to support a sinking empire, devotes much of his time to the discussion of intricate controversies, no way connected with the government of the state or of his own life, he seems guilty of an aberration from the right line of wisdom. In this respect, the character of Justinian is liable to censure; he was not only a strenuous, but a subtle defender of the faith, and valued himself on his acumen and erudition in polemic theology. The famous dispute concerning the *Three Chapters* and the errors of Origin, supplied an apposite occasion for exercising and displaying the penetration and zeal of Justinian. "The emperor being mightily pleased to find this occasion of judging in ecclesiastical matters, caused to be presently drawn up a large declaration against the errors of Origin, which he addressed to all the patriarchs. This edict, which was published in the year five hundred and forty-one, is found after the Acts of the fifth council, although it should precede them. It begins with these words:—We have earnestly desired to preserve the christian faith in its purity, and to maintain the catholic church in peace. And this was always our chief care, being fully persuaded that it is the best means to preserve that secular empire which God has given us, to conquer the enemies of our state, and to feel the happy effects of the divine mercy in another life. Now though the enemy of mankind seeks all oc-

casions to destroy men, yet the goodness of God defeats all the efforts of his malice, and by confounding his enemies, preserves his own flock from infection. We speak thus, because we are told of some persons who have not the fear of God before their eyes, and who have forsaken the rule of truth, without which there is no salvation, by departing from the doctrine of scripture, and of the doctors of the catholic church, by adhering to Origin, and maintaining his impious doctrines."*

He who looks for contradictions and absurdities in the writings of the Fathers need not look far to find them; they say and unsay, and often contradict, not only scripture, and common sense, and each other, but also, themselves. Origin was born at Alexandria, fifteen years before the close of the second century, and enjoyed all the advantages of early instruction under skilful teachers. He studied philosophy under Ammonius; theology under Clemens of Alexandria; and such was the quickness of his apprehension, and the strength of his memory, that he soon became competent to teach others. So great was his zeal in the cause of religion, that he conformed to a certain passage of scripture according to the letter, and became an eunuch for the kingdom of heaven. Yet, in other instances, his inventive genius and fervid imagination led him to find out allegorical interpretations of some of the plainest narratives

* Dupin, Biblioth. of Eccles. Writers, Vol. I. 703.

in the books of Moses ; and the *furor allegoricus*, by which he was transported, was one cause of his speculative delinquency. Moreover, the precincts of ecclesiastical orthodoxy were not so well defined in the days of Origin as they were in the time of Justinian, and of course there were not the same reasons for laying restraints on the erratic excursions of fancy. It is fatiguing to read merely the catalogue of Origin's works ; he wrote Commentaries on the philosophers, two books on the resurrection, four books *de principiis*, eight books against Celsus, and ten books of Stromata, to say nothing of his homilies, and of his treatises on prayer and martyrdom ; but the chief part of his long and laborious life was spent in explicating and perplexing the scriptures. In the ocean of his works there was room for shoals of errors ; and to fish them out, furnished the emperor with serious, and, as he conceived, dignified, employment. He classes them under six heads, the first of which regards the Trinity, the second the plurality of worlds, the third the pre-existence of souls which are confined in human bodies for their punishment ; the fourth relates to the heavens, the sun, the moon, and the stars, which Origin thought to be animated and rational ; the fifth teaches that after the resurrection, human bodies will be of a round figure ; and the sixth denies the eternity of penal tortures in the world to come. Justinian was not satisfied with detecting and refuting these

errors, but he directed nine curses against them, and a tenth against the person of Origin. He also wrote to the bishops to exhort them to condemn and curse both Origin and his erroneous opinions. Mennas, patriarch of Constantinople, having received the emperor's letter, called a council in which the imperial instructions were punctually obeyed. But Theodorus of Cæsarea, out of hatred to whom Pelagius had instigated the condemnation of Origin, sought revenge by a similar artifice. He was of the sect of the Acephali, and an enemy to the council of Chalcedon. The empress Theodora favoured this party; but Justinian resolved to have the decrees of the council of Chalcedon put in execution, and prepared to publish an edict against the Acephali. But the artful bishop of Cæsarea, to avoid this stroke, and to avenge the injury done to Origin, represented to Justinian, that it was needless to make an edict against them, as they would be all re-united and approve the council of Chalcedon, if he would give orders to anathematize Theodorus of Mopsuesta, to condemn the writings of Theodoret against Cyril, and the letter of Ibas, which was read in the council of Chalcedon.

The bishop of Cæsarea had two objects in view in making this overture; the first was to be revenged on those who had procured the condemnation of Origin, by causing Theodorus of Mopsuesta, who was hated by the Originists, to be anathematized also. The second was to weaken

the authority of the council of Chalcedon, by causing those persons and writings to be condemned which it had approved. The emperor, who did not penetrate into the depth of these designs, thinking that he might do much good to the church in effecting the reconciliation of so many schismatics, by condemning three dead writers, whose reputation was very doubtful, made no scruple to promise the bishop of Cæsarea what he desired. But he, fearing lest the emperor, who was naturally inconstant, should change his resolution, on seeing the scandal which the undertaking would produce, cunningly engaged him to publish an edict containing a condemnation of the articles we have mentioned, which were afterwards so famous under the name of the *three chapters*. This edict was published in the year 545, and is entitled *the emperor Justinian's confession of faith against the three chapters*, addressed to the assembly of the catholic and apostolic church.

It is a large exposition of current opinions which the emperor proposes to all the world, to re-unite all sects to the true faith. He first explains in a few words the doctrine of the church concerning the Trinity, and enlarges very much on the mystery of the incarnation, which he very exactly explains, rejecting all contrary errors, and particularly those of the Nestorians and Eutychians. To confound error the more effectually, he pronounces an anathema against Arius, Eunomius,

Macedonius, Nestorius, and Eutyches. And lastly, he added three solemn curses ; one against the doctrine and person of Theodorus of Mopsuesta ; a second against the writings of Theodore ; and a third against the letter of Ibas to Maris Persanus. Since these three last anathemas were the moving cause which made Justinian undertake to publish this confession of faith, it is not to be wondered that he endeavours to justify them.

He first labours to prove that the council of Chalcedon did not approve the letter of Ibas, and that it was impious. He afterwards proceeds to Theodorus of Mopsuesta ; and because many scrupled to condemn him on account of his being dead, he endeavours to show that the dead may be anathematized. This he proves ; 1st. because the church has many times cursed heretics after their death ; 2d. because the council of Constantinople cursed Arius and Macedonius by name, whom the council of Nice had not named ; 3d. because the church of Mopsuesta had already removed out of the diptychs the name of Theodorus ; and 4th, because Theodorus having taught an impious doctrine, could not be a partaker of the kingdom of heaven, and consequently ought to be cursed. He adds, that Damasus and the bishops of Sardica had anathematized the bishops who departed from the faith of the Nicene council, the dead as well as the living ; that St. Augustin had declared that if Cæcilian were found guilty of the crimes whereof he was accused, he would pro-

nounce an anathema against him, though he died in the communion of the church ; and that it was ordained in a synod of Africa, that the catholics who should leave their possessions to a heretic, should be anathematized even after their death. It hence appears how little attention was paid, in this age of execration, to the divine precept *bless, and curse not.*

The emperor having issued his edict against the three chapters, called an assembly of bishops to ratify it. To this assembly, he addressed a letter, observing, *that the emperors had always taken care to procure the condemnation of heresies, and to preserve the faith and tranquillity of the church, by calling councils ; and exhorting them to examine and condemn the impious writings in question.* The bishops, obsequious to the will of their imperial master, condemned the heretics, who had been condemned and excommunicated in preceding councils, *together with Theodorus bishop of Mopsuesta and his impious books.* They proceed, *we condemn also what Theodoret has written amiss against the true faith, against the twelve chapters of St. Cyril, and against the council of Ephesus : we condemn also the letter which Ibas is said to have written to Maris Persanus, wherein he denies that the Word of God was born of the Virgin Mary, and reckons St. Cyril for a heretic.* This sentence, so agreeable to the wishes of the emperor, was guarded by a halo of curses, one of which was pointed against those who should pre-

sume to say that it was designed to destroy the authority of the council of Chalcedon. But notwithstanding this precaution, the sentence of the emperor's synod was boldly opposed by the bishops of Africa and the west, and particularly by Vigilius, bishop of Rome, who considered it as highly derogatory not only to the authority of the council just mentioned, but also to the well-earned fame of those holy men, whose sentiments and characters it covered with obloquy and disgrace. In this controversy, Vigilius was reduced to a dilemma between the powers of the east and the west ; by the former, he was persuaded or compelled to approve of the three chapters, and by the latter to condemn them as heterodox and pernicious ; both of which he did several times. In the course of this dispute, reasoning and caresses, menaces and exile, were alternately employed by the Byzantine court, to move the constancy of the Roman pontiff ; the power and policy of Justinian were successful ; another assembly of the bishops was called at Constantinople, which is reckoned the fifth general council, to which the emperor addressed a long didactic epistle, and the decrees of which were conformable to his imperial pleasure.

Considering Justinian as a zealous theologian, with the forces of the empire at his command, we must applaud the forbearance and lenity which he shewed while pleading the cause of truth ; but viewing him as the guardian of the public peace,

and the father of his people, we must condemn him for becoming a party in a religious dispute, and for suffering his time to be occupied, and his passions excited, by a question no way connected with civil magistracy. After all, there were many bishops who refused to submit to the will of the emperor and to the definitions and decrees of the council, not a few of whom were deposed and banished, and the whole church, from the remote districts of Asia and Lybia, to the western extremities of Europe

‘ Resembled Ocean into tempest wrought,
 ‘ To waft a feather or to drown a fly.’*

There is a portion of evil allotted to each man; and he on whose path the sun-beams of prospe-

* The chief authorities, followed in this outline of an intricate, but once interesting, controversy, are Dupin Biblioth. Vol. I. 702; Fleury, Hist. Eccles. Tome, VII. and Moshem Eccles. Hist. Cent VI. The first of these authors concludes his history of the 2d. Council held at Constantinople, as follows, “ Thus I have given an account in a few words of every thing almost that was done about the affair of the three chapters in the east and the west, where you may see the church in a wonderful confusion, for a matter of very small consequence. For what was the advantage of condemning the three chapters? and why were they defended with so much stiffness? They who condemned, and they who maintained them, made profession of the same faith. Why then did they not live in peace? why condemn, why excommunicate, why persecute, one another?” It is not easy to give an answer to these interrogatives, and they might be urged with equal force, even if some momentous truth had been at stake; for human wrath cannot aid divine mercy, and it ill becomes those who bless God, to curse men.

rity play through life, must not be surprised if he is surrounded with the gloom of adversity at last. Such was the lot of Justinian : after spending successive years in the investigation of the truth ; after leading thousands into the light of orthodoxy, and filling the world with the fame of his diligence and zeal in defending the faith ; “ he forsook the path of sound doctrine, and lighting on a way into which neither apostles, nor fathers ever led him, fell among brambles and briers.”*

Cease ye from man whose breath is in his nostrils ; for wherein is he to be accounted of. The tables were now turned ; and they who a short time before had rejoiced to see the arm of power suspended over the heads of heretics, now trembled in expectation of being compelled to resist the will of their sovereign or quit the fold of the church. Eutichius, patriarch of Constantinople, presumed to remonstrate with the emperor ; and when required to sign an edict which taught that the body of Christ was incorruptible, that it was not susceptible of hunger or thirst, and that it was the same before the resurrection as afterwards, he boldly declared that this was not the doctrine of the apostles, that it was a necessary consequence of this opinion that the incarnation was merely imaginary, and that the circumcision, and last sufferings, and death of Christ, were nothing more than the delusive semblances of real events. But Justinian

* Evag. Eccles. Hist. IV. 38.

was not convinced of his error, and the faithful patriarch was sent into exile. When the bishops of the east were called upon to subscribe to the new article of the emperor's faith ; they modestly declined, observing that they followed the example of Anastasius, patriarch of Antioch.

This man was well established in the essential truths of religion, without neglecting those of less consequence, affable without being weak, and severe without being repulsive ; he heard and spoke with pleasure on matters of importance, but for idle and useless questions he had neither ears, nor tongue. Justinian exerted all his policy to make a proselyte of this veteran in the faith, but his efforts were unavailing ; Anastasius resisted with firmness, and declared his sentiments with freedom and courage ; and while the emperor was making preparations to send him and his clergy into exile, death put a stop to all his projects, and he left the world enveloped in the mists of error and prejudice.*

It is not necessary that we should know how the soul of Justinian was received in the invisible world ; but for ought that appears, his intentions were as pure when he fell from the faith as when he defended it. His conduct in the main, was temperate and virtuous ; and the prosperity which attended the sword and the sceptre in his hand,

* Evag. Eccles. Hist. IV. 39, 40.—Fleury, Hist. Eccles. Tome VII. 497.

revived the majesty of the empire. Let us indulge the pleasing hope that the obliquity of his creed, which might be caused by the innocent infirmities of nature sinking under age and fatigue, has not excluded him from repose with the father of the faithful.* To err is human, and if the infallible only can gain admittance to heaven, it is time for us to despair; but to entice or compel others to err, is worse than human, it is diabolical: Yet as the faithful had applauded Justinian for coercing pagans, Jews, and heretics, they certainly had contributed to the formation of an evil habit, of which, in the event, they narrowly escaped becoming the victims.

It is not strange that the sharp sighted wisdom of interested men should succeed in devising plausible objections to the right of toleration; but the current of political events has ever been so decidedly in its favour, that it may very well excite surprise that its policy was ever called in question. Yet some occurrences transpired in Europe under the reign of Justinian which may appear to invest an objection to the policy of toleration with a specious aspect. It may be urged that the Arian monarchs of Italy and Spain, who, for the most part, treated their orthodox subjects with respect and tenderness, and conceded to them the ample possession of all civil privileges, were rewarded

* Evagrius does not scruple to say that he went to endless torment.—Eccles. Hist. V. 1. But we may, at least, oppose our wishes to the rash and ungenerous assertion.

by their disaffection and sedition. But to this it may be answered that the intolerant government of the Vandals in Africa succeeded no better, as the Catholics of that province rose against them on the landing of Belisarius ; that we cannot say what incivilities and insults the catholic ecclesiastics in Europe endured from those of the Arians ; and that the distinction of Arian and Catholic was intimately connected with that of Goth and Roman, of conqueror and conquered, so that it is difficult to separate the effects of national, from those of sectarian animosity.*

The epithet *Great* has been justly added to the name of Justinian on account of the magnitude, variety, and splendour of the works which were undertaken and accomplished under his auspices. He was succeeded in the throne by one of his nephews, Justin II. who began his reign by paying the debts of his uncle, and recalling the bishops who had been sent into exile. He published also, without delay, a theological edict abounding with orthodox sentiments and nice distinctions on the popular controversies of the times ; nor was he parsimonious in encreasing the ornaments and revenues of the churches which his predecessor had built. But notwithstanding this parade of piety, he is described even by the ecclesiastical historians as the slave of luxury and avarice, and as capable of breaking through all the restraints of jus-

* Hallam's Europe during the Middle Ages. Vol. I. 4.

tice and decency, and of committing acts of the greatest cruelty when necessary to the gratification of his unhallowed passions.

Under the reign of Justin II. Italy became the theatre of another important revolution. Belisarius had been obliged by the exigencies of the eastern parts of the empire, to suspend his operations in Italy before he had completed the conquest of the Goths. He was succeeded by Narses, the eunuch, who was deservedly raised from the humble avocations of domestic government, and female luxury, to negotiate treaties and command armies. The Goths resisted the arms of Narses with desperate obstinacy and valour; but they were at length compelled to yield the palm of victory to an *eunuch* who totally annihilated their power, restored Italy to the empire, and governed it fifteen years under the title of exarch of Ravenna. The courage and skill of Narses are too well attested to be called in question; but having established his power, he had not the wisdom and the nobleness of mind to employ it as the guardian of liberty and justice; nor had he the generosity of nature to sacrifice a sordid passion to the public good: his administration became unpopular and oppressive, and his avarice excited loud and reiterated complaints.

The impatient Italians addressed a remonstrance to the court of Constantinople in which they stated that their servitude under an orthodox eunuch was much more intolerable than it had been under

the Arian Goths, and that if he was not immediately superseded by a governor more agreeable to their wishes, they would consult their own happiness and dignity in the choice of a master. They at the same time accused their ambiguous tyrant of aspiring at an independent dominion ; and the absolute sway with which he had governed gave an air of probability to the accusation. Longinus was forthwith dispatched with authority to take upon himself the administration of public affairs in Italy ; and Sophia, the wife of Justin, took the opportunity of sending an insulting message to Narses, telling him that he must give place to a *man*, and return and resume his station among the women of the palace, when a distaff should be put into his hands : the indignant eunuch replied, *that he would spin her such a web as she should never be able to unravel*, and immediately fulfilled his threat, by sending to invite the Lombards to undertake the conquest of Italy. It is not to be supposed that a horde of Scandinavian freebooters, who had already made their way, in successive migrations from the shores of the Baltic to the wilds of Pannonia, could have any insuperable objection to a settlement in the opulent cities and fertile plains of Italy. Under the reign of Justinian, the Lombards had been the faithful allies of the Romans, and six thousand of them had fought under the command of Narses against the Goths ; these were already acquainted with the roads, the rivers, and the mountains of Italy, and

had, no doubt, spread among their countrymen such reports of the climate and country as would excite desire. It is said too, that when Narses sent his invitation to Alboin, who was at that time king of the Lombards, he sent some samples of the natural productions of Italy, as an allurement. Be this as it may, Alboin entered with ardor into the enterprise, and announced his intentions to his adventurous subjects, who readily acceded to his views. The forces of the Lombards were soon augmented by the junction of other warlike tribes, to whom a plan for conquest and plunder was always grateful. It is probable that the readiness and facility with which the hordes of savage warriors which issued from the north mingled with each other, whenever their cupidity and prowess were roused by a splendid project, have caused the numbers of each nation or tribe to be over-rated. The event proved, however, that there was no occasion for any extensive preparations for the conquest of Italy. The land of Romulus was now peopled by a race of men who had but little in common with those who had raised Rome from an insignificant village to a magnificent city, and extended her empire from the banks of the Tiber to the Thames, in the west, and the Euphrates in the east. When Alboin had reached the scene of action, he had but little to do except take quiet possession of a country which the poets had vainly imagined to be destined by the fates to eternal empire. When Hannibal descended from

the Alps and displayed the banners of Carthage before the eyes of the Roman consuls, he met with a different reception. Alboin having established his authority from Aquileia to Milan, his followers, elate with their success, raised him on high upon a shield, presented him with a lance, and proclaimed him king of Italy. This took place in the seventy-ninth year of the sixth century, and from this event, historians date the commencement of the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy, which subsisted for upwards of two hundred years. Having made himself master of Pavia, Alboin was induced, by the convenience of its situation and the strength of its fortifications, to make it the seat of his government; and he addressed himself immediately to the establishment of polity and order through his new dominions. But the king of the Lombards was cut off by a sudden stroke from the prosecution of his designs, and from the enjoyment of the fruits of his enterprise. While in Pannonia, Alboin had made war on the Gepidæ, slew their king with his own hand, and committed such destruction among them that they ceased from that time to be a nation. According to the savage customs of the times, Alboin caused the skull of the slaughtered king to be fashioned into a goblet for his own use, and this skull proved the occasion of his own death. Among the spoils and prisoners taken in the camp of the Gepidæ, the eye of Alboin was caught by the charms of Rosamund, daughter of the unfortunate monarch; the captive

princess acceded to the wishes of the conqueror and became queen of the Lombards. It happened in the fourth year of this new kingdom in Italy, that Alboin gave, at Verona, a splendid entertainment to his principal friends and officers, and after drinking to excess, caused the detested cup to be filled with wine and taken to the queen, with an order to drink merrily with her father. This savage insult caused Rosamund to form a conspiracy against the life of Alboin which proved successful.

After the premature death of Alboin, the affairs of the Lombards fell into disorder, and during the licence of anarchy, the catholics were great sufferers; churches were plundered, bishops slain, cities ruined, and the people terrified and scattered. "The Lombards," says Cardinal Fleury, "ravaged Italy and made many martyrs;" of which he gives some instances. Having taken forty peasants, they endeavoured to constrain them to eat viands that had been offered to idols; but the honest rustics continued firm in the faith, and suffered themselves to be put to death. The Lombards also caused forty others to be executed, whom they had taken prisoners, because they refused to worship the head of a goat which had been sacrificed to a demon. And in the province of Valeria, they suspended two monks to a tree; but it is pleasant to learn that the savages were touched with some compunction for this crime, and that their affrighted imaginations caused them to hear the victims of their ferocity singing the

praises of God after they were dead.* With the exception of a few such sallies of cruelty and madness, the political regimen of the Lombards was tolerant. Alboin was an Arian, but his catholic subjects were allowed to pray in public for his conversion, and the various tribes of rude adventurers associated under his standard, observed their several forms of superstition. Venus and Nemesis were the favourite idols of Rosamund, and she became the victim of her devotion; for having received a proposal of marriage from Longinus, exarch of Ravenna, she prepared a strong cup of poison for Helmichild, her paramour, who, coming thirsty out of the bath, drank part of it, but feeling at once its corrosive operation on his stomach, he compelled her, with the point of his sword, to drink the remainder, and they both expired together. Nature had lavished upon this unfortunate woman the charms of personal beauty, but she was faithless in her love, implacable in her anger, and intemperate in her vengeance.

Thus under the feeble reign of Justin, the empire was again contracted in the west, by the loss of a considerable part of Italy; but it was extended in the east by the acquisition of Persarmenia, the inhabitants of which revolted from the Persian government in resentment of the oppression they endured on account of their having

* Hist. Eccles. Tome VII. 521, 547.

embraced christianity. Cosrhoes, the Persian monarch, sent an embassy to Constantinople to deter the emperor from espousing their cause; but Justin, timid as he was, despised his threats, and declared that he would not refuse his assistance to a generous people who suffered persecution for professing the same religion as he and his subjects professed.

Justin closed his administration of public affairs by transferring his power and prerogatives to Tiberius, a Thracian, who had already performed some of the first functions of the state, in the most respectable and satisfactory manner. This last act of Justin may be considered as one of his best, for Tiberius was distinguished alike by the majesty and comeliness of his person, the wisdom and firmness of his mind, and the humane and generous feelings of his heart. The happiness of his subjects was the pure source of his comfort, and he detested the gold that was extorted from the needy.* The reign of Tiberius was short, but it was manly and virtuous; and he extended the blessings of his wisdom and beneficence, by nominating as his successor Mauritius, or Maurice, a Roman by descent, but a native of Cappadocia, a man who had no claim to empire but his virtues, and a prince on whose character and actions, the mind may repose with delight. Together with the purple, Tiberius conferred on Maurice his

* *Eyag. Eccles. Hist. Book V. 11, 12, 13,*

daughter Constantina; but the troubles connected with the former marred the happiness arising from the latter. The youth of Maurice had been spent in studying the science and practising the art of war; and under his skilful and vigorous arms, the pride of the Persians and the Avars was humbled in the dust. He wrote a treatise on military tactics which has come down to our times, and proved himself a friend to learned men, and a patron to every liberal art and science. If Evagrius is worthy of credit, the exaltation of Maurice was pre-intimated by a miraculous fire, a redolent odour, a fruitful vine, and a grisley ghost; and we may suppose that these portents originated in the malicious activity of the genius of evil who delights to give signs of future happiness and dignity which are to be followed by disgrace and wo. Maurice lived sixty, and reigned sixteen years; perhaps imperial luxury and superstition impaired his understanding; a refusal to ransom some captives made him unpopular in the army, and the disaffected soldiers invested Phocas, a centurion, with the purple; the inconstant populace of Constantinople confirmed this treasonable act of military licentiousness, and Maurice, forsaken of his guards, was obliged to make his escape from the city and the throne in disguise. Contrary winds drove him back, and he was compelled to seek an asylum with his wife and children in the church of a martyr. The patriarch of Constantinople solemnly crowned the usurper,

after he had sworn to defend the rights of the church, and to maintain the true faith. To make himself popular, Phocas caused the games of the circus to be celebrated with great pomp, and a tumult arising, as was usual, between the *greens* and *blues*, he caused a tribune of the latter faction to be punished, on account of which the blues cried out that *Maurice was not yet dead*. This roused the jealousy of Phocas, who immediately ordered the unfortunate emperor to be dragged from the church, with his five sons, and inhumanly executed. Maurice was the last of the victims, and as he saw his sons beheaded one after another, he frequently exclaimed, Thou art righteous in thy judgments O Lord. This happened in the year six hundred and two. As Phocas shewed his want of fidelity and honour in the reception of power, so he was execrable in the use of it; intemperance, deceit, and cruelty, were the great outlines of his character; but we will not further pollute our pages by detailing his crimes.

Before we take our leave of the sixth century, it may be expected that we should say something on the character and actions of Gregory the Great, who has been reputed the brightest luminary of his age. He was of patrician rank by birth, and inherited from his father extensive estates, out of which he built and endowed six monasteries in Sicily, and a seventh, in Rome, into which he entered himself. But before he

conformed to the rules of a religious order, he had governed the city in the profane office of *prætor*, and at that time indulged the hope that he should be able to serve God, while his person was ornamented with silk and jewels; but experience convinced him of his inability to serve the world merely in appearance, and he exchanged the splendid insignia of secular dignities, for the plain dress and homely fare of an ecclesiastical recluse.

While the superior of a convent, (for though he wished to obey, the brethren obliged him to govern,) Gregory saw in the market of Rome some slaves of an extraordinary fairness and beauty of countenance; he had the curiosity to enquire of the merchant, *from what country he had brought them; from the isle of Britain, all the inhabitants of which are thus fair*, was the answer. Gregory demanded *if they were christians?* no, replied the merchant, *they are as yet pagans. What a pity*, said Gregory with a sigh, *that such beautiful faces should be under the power of the devil!* The benevolence of Gregory to the English was active; for he immediately went to the pope and entreated him to send them ministers of the word of God, and requested that he might be employed on the mission. His request was granted; but he had scarcely set off on his journey when the pontiff was assailed by loud complaints that he had offended St. Peter and destroyed Rome in letting Gregory go. Messengers were immedi-

ately dispatched to recal Gregory, who was obliged to return and resume the government of his monastery. But the perils of the times, the talents of the man, and the commanding place he held in public opinion, did not allow Gregory to enjoy long the tranquillity of the cloister. Pope Pelagius II. drew him from his retirement, ordained him one of the seven deacons of the Roman church, and sent him to Constantinople in quality of Nuncio apostolic. During his residence in the imperial city, he had a dispute with the patriarch Eutychius, in which he maintained that the bodies of the saints after the resurrection, though miraculously subtle, should be palpable, and not of the nature of air and wind, as his opponent contended. This conference was held in the presence of the emperor Tiberius, who decided in favour of the substantial sentiments of Gregory, and required Eutychius to burn a book in which he had asserted his aerial opinions.

The see of Rome having become vacant by the death of Pelagius, Gregory was elected to that high dignity by the unanimous suffrage of the senate, the clergy, and the people. Thus become the victim of his own merits, it was in vain Gregory remonstrated and resisted; his sincere or affected anxiety to shun the honours of the mitre, augmented the impatient ardour of his admirers; and, as in that age, the most trifling occurrences were attended with miracles, it is not surprising that a light from heaven should point out the cave in which the illustrious fugitive was concealed.

In the first year of his pontificate, Gregory called a council at Rome, and wrote synodic epistles to the four patriarchs of the east, in which he bewails the heavy calamity which had befallen him in his election, gives an exposition of his faith, avows the same reverence for the four first councils as for the four evangelists, and with respect to the fifth, declares that he believes what it believes, and rejects what it rejects.

Gregory has been applauded for his skill in winning the favour of princes, and making them obedient to the decisions, and subservient to the designs of the church. It was probably in the spirit of this art that he received the image of Phocas, and gave it a niche in the oratory of a saint, and that he wrote a letter of salutation to the savage tyrant whose hands were still reeking with the blood of Maurice and his sons, congratulating him on his accession to the throne. *God, says he, the sovereign ruler of men, sometimes exalts one to punish the crimes of many, as we have experienced in our long affliction; and sometimes to console many afflicted, he elevates another.*

If we had no knowledge of the character of Phocas but what might be gleaned from the letters of Gregory, in the room of viewing him as an usurper, and a monster of vice, we should consider him as a legitimate prince, and as a model of virtue. As this pontiff was an admirer of the hereditary rights of kings, and as he was not destitute of firmness and courage, we must suppose

that when he offered the incense of adulation to a regicide, he was influenced by a feeling which hurried him from the remembrance of past crimes to the anticipation of future favours. Notorious offenders against the laws of God and of human society have, not unfrequently, been devout and generous friends to the church. This was the case not only with Phocas, but also with Brunehaut, queen of France, to whom Gregory wrote requesting her to exert her power in behalf of the church, and extolling, in high terms, her faith and her love to religion. Stained with every crime of which a woman can be guilty, Brunehaut had the address to forsake an unpopular heresy, to build and endow monasteries, to be liberal to the clergy, to keep the fasts and feasts prescribed by the canons, and to send embassies to procure holy relics from Rome. If this princess was vicious, she was also unfortunate ; for Clotaire, on his accession to the throne, gave her up to the resentment of her nobles, who, after treating her with insult, put her to death by means of an untamed horse to which they had tied her.

Another of Gregory's correspondents was Recaredus, king of Spain, who abandoned the creed of Arius for that of Athanasius. This generous prince sent presents to the church of St. Peter ; and Gregory, in return, sent him a small key, made out of the chains of St. Peter, and some of the wood of the true cross. Recaredus was not satisfied with embracing the Nicene faith himself,

but, like an ardent convert, obliged the Arian bishops to become catholics, and with them the whole nation of the Visigoths in Spain, not suffering any heretic to serve in his army, or to hold any post in the state. Thus, says Fleury, heresy was abolished in Spain, where it had prevailed from the beginning of the fifteenth century, for about one hundred and eighty years. In writing to this royal convert, Gregory had the boldness to exhort him to temperance and humility ; but at the same time he gratified his pride by extolling his zeal in causing the conversion of his subjects, and especially, because that having made a law against the Jews, he refused a substantial bribe offered by them to procure the repeal of it.*

* Maimbourg draws an elegant picture of this prince. “ He was well made, graceful, of a strong complexion, ready, active, vigilant, wise, brave, always successful ;—he was the man in the world who had the greatest goodness, and sweetness of temper ;—but after all, amidst so many perfections, there is none that comes up to the extraordinary zeal he had for the Catholic faith, and the conversion of his people.” In the fourth year of his reign was held the third council of Toledo, to which he addressed a declaration of his faith in a memorial which he desired might be publicly read, to the end that, if the council approved of it, *there might be no other faith over all his dominions*. After the council broke up, Recaredus published an edict in which he ordered all his subjects both clergy and laity, *under great pains*, inviolably to observe the decrees of the holy council ; and, to conclude the solemnity of so glorious a festival, *having made strict search for all Arian books, he had a great fire made of them to the glory of the son of God.*—“ So that after the third council of Toledo, he may be called, by a

Still however, it appears that Gregory was more disposed to shew clemency towards the seed of Abraham, than towards any other sect of mis-believers ; hence he rebuked a bishop, of whom the Jews complained that he had driven them from their synagogue, reminding him that we ought to attempt the conversion of infidels, not by menaces and terror, but by exhortations and kindness. In Sardinia there was a law which prohibited the Jews from building new synagogues, while it allowed them to enjoy their old ones ; but this privilege appeared too great to the evil eye of fanaticism, and was often violated. Some Jews of Italy complained to this pontiff that a great number of their brethren had been baptized, more through force than persuasion ; which caused him to write to two bishops, giving them applause for their good intention, while he reminded them that their conduct was not justified by scripture, and that there was reason to fear that they who embraced christianity through necessity would forsake it of choice, and become more obstinate in their superstition. These sentiments are to be admired ; but we look in vain in Gregory for that consistency of principle and conduct which may be expected in a man of good sense and upright intentions. Hence, while he

more glorious name than that of king, the apostle of the Suevi and Goths, whom he so thoroughly converted, that Arianism, after that time never had any footing in Spain."

History of Arianism, Book XI.

recommended kindness and suavity towards the Jews, he wrote to the Governor of Africa, praising his valour and piety, and exhorting him to employ all his might to repress the Donatists. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the aggrandisement of his see was an object which lay so near the heart of this pontiff, that he was prepared to pursue it *per fas et nefas*. How otherwise shall we account for his praising Maurice while living, and reproaching him when dead; for his caressing such a foul traitor as Phocas, and exulting in his accession to the throne as in the advent of the Messiah; and for his celebrating the virtues and importuning the services of such a woman as Brunehaut?

Gregory opposed with decision and boldness the primacy of the patriarch of Constantinople. That aspiring priest had assumed the epithet *universal*, which Gregory pronounced vain-glorious, proud, profane, impious, and execrable; and in opposition to it called himself *servus servorum Dei*. He observed that there was no universal apostle, that the title *universal bishop* was against the rules of the gospel, and that if the patriarch of Constantinople was *universal*, the whole church would fall to destruction if he should fall into heresy; he concluded therefore that whoever assumed this blasphemous and infernal title, was the follower of Satan, and the forerunner of Antichrist.*

* Fleury Hist. Eccles. Tome VII. 548—Tome VIII. 1.—207.
Dupin. Biblioth. Vol. I. 566.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mohammed and the Islam.

A NEW scene of action and a new series of events now offer themselves to our contemplation. The adventurous spirit of ambition and empire never made bolder and more successful efforts than in the person of Mohammed the founder of the Islam.* Before we take into consideration the politics, theology, and institutions, of this renowned impostor, it may be of use to give some account of that country which was the theatre of his wiles, and of the people on whose credulity he imposed.

* Mr. Gibbon was no prophet when he made the following declaration ;—"The prophet Mohammed can no longer be stripped of the famous, though improper, appellation of Mahomet." The learned dean of Norwich also followed the rule or example of Medea with respect to the name of Mohammed—

Video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora sequor.

Thus two men of profound erudition gave up their judgment of what was right, and lent the sanction of their example to what they acknowledged wrong, through a mistaken idea that the evil was too inveterate to be cured. They who would reform the abuses which spring from ignorance and negligence, may hence learn to be on their guard against sudden despondency,

Arabia, bounded on the east by the Euphrates, the Persian gulf, and the bay of Ormus; on the south, by the straits of Babel Mandel and the

But while we are pleased with the prevalence of accuracy over the erroneous custom of writing Mahomet, it is somewhat appalling to observe how variously the name is spelt by modern writers, and to reflect that all except one must be wrong and that possibly neither is right.

If very great correctness is looked for any where, it may be fairly looked for in the writings of those gentlemen, who, unsolicited, elevate themselves into critics. But I have seen a certain Review, published on the northern side of the Tweed, in which there is a long article on Muhammedanism, in which this formidable word often occurs. Now, if these learned gentlemen are right, it seems that the genuine name of the Arabian impostor is neither Mahomet, Mahommed, Mohammed, Mohommed, nor yet, Muhammed, but—Muhammedan; for I presume, that the proper way of forming a word to express a man's opinions or institutions, is by adding *ism* to his name. And if there is any grace in brevity, it may well be asked, if Lutherism, Wesleyism, Sandemanism, and Swedenbourgism, are not long enough for all the purposes of verbal beauty without the insertion of paragogic letters?

Having gone thus far, I am inclined to trespass on my reader's patience for a remark or two on the words *islam* and *moslem*. From *Salama* which signifies *resignation to the will of God* is formed *islam*, the true religion, as received and taught by Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mohammed; and from this is formed *moslem* which signifies a professor of the islam.

Fleury, Hist. Eccles. Tome viii. 382.

“To the prophet whose religion is the islam

Mohammed, seal of his Lord's messengers.”

Mohammedan law of Succession—Sir W. Jones's Works, Vol. viii. 88.

“Verily the true religion in the sight of God is the islam.”

Koran, chap. iii.

Indian Ocean ; on the west, by the isthmus of Suez, and the red sea ; and on the north by Syria ; forms one of the largest peninsulas in the globe. It lies between 12 and 33 degrees north latitude,

In the 2d. chapter of the Koran there is an allusion to the original and leading idea of the islam :—" When his Lord said unto him *Resign thyself unto me*, he answered, *I have resigned myself to the Lord of all creatures*. And Abraham bequeathed this religion to his children, and Jacob did the same, saying, *My children, verily God hath chosen this religion for you, therefore die not unless ye also be resigned*.—They answered, *We will worship thy God and the God of thy fathers Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac, one God, and to him will we be resigned*."

" *He hath named you MOSLEMS heretofore and in this book ;—wherefore be constant at prayer, and give alms, and adhere firmly unto God*."—Koran chap. xxii.

There are some names which occur in the Mohammedan history in the spelling of which accuracy is hardly to be expected, and not much to be desired. For instance, that correctness which consists in the use of consonants which do not affect the sound, or of points which few will understand, is not much to be valued. Of what consequence is it whether we write the name of Mohammed's first wife Khadijah or Cadijah, and whether we write the name of his grandfather Abdal Motalleb, or Abdalmotaleb ? In the Arabic, Abu signifies father, Ebn, son, and Abd, servant ; and as the Arabs valued themselves on the ties and relationships of domestic life, we often find these words compounded with their names, as Abu Taleb. Allah is the name of God, hence Abdallah *the servant of God*. Sometimes the Arabs prefix the definite article to names, as Al Abbas, and sometimes they annex this article to a preceding word, as Ebnol Athir *the son of Al Athir* ; Abul Abbas *the father of Al Abbas* ; Abdal Shems, *the servant of the sun*. Abu may be considered as belonging to the vocabulary of original and universal language, as it is one of the first sounds which a child articulates.

and 50 and 75 east longitude ; its greatest length from north to south is 1430 miles, its greatest breadth from east to west is 1200, and its figure bears an awkward resemblance to that of a triangle.

Geographers, since the time of Ptolemy, have divided Arabia into three parts, according to the qualities which mark the surface, the *rocky*, the *sandy*, and the *happy*, or, to use their own words, Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Felix. Fortunately, the latter, which is the southern division, is by far the largest, and has been the seat of several opulent and powerful kingdoms. In the days of Strabo, Arabia Felix contained five independent provinces, Yaman, Hejaz, Tehama, Najd, and Yamama, some of which abound with the richest gifts of nature. In the first of these, it is supposed, lived and reigned that princess of whom such honourable mention is made in the sacred history, who came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear and prove the wisdom of Solomon : the spices, the gold, and the precious stones which she presented in such profusion to the king of Israel, were undoubtedly the productions of her own country.

Mecca and Medina are situate on the western coast in the province of Hejaz ; the former of these gave birth, and the latter afforded a safe retreat, and a magnificent mausoleum to Mohammed. But anterior to the birth of the prophet, Mecca was a place of considerable note ; the Arabs believed it

to be of patriarchal antiquity, and the well *Semzem* which supplied it with water, they believed to be that near to which the angel appeared to Hagar in her distress and saved the life of Ishmael. The Caaba, or ancient temple of Mecca, was venerated for sanctity and solemn mysteries long before the time of Mohammed; and it is probable that it was some motive of superstition which prompted the wild Arabs to settle and build a city on a site so unfavourable to agriculture, commerce, or pleasure. But the remote celebrity of Mecca is lost in the importance which it has acquired by giving birth to a man whose bold and enterprising genius was destined to impress a new and permanent character on a great part of the population of the globe, and by becoming the centre of an empire rivalling in extent and duration that of Rome itself.

The *Hegira*, or *flight* of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, which took place A. D. 622, is the great æra of the Mohammedan nations; and Medina, from the kind reception she gave the illustrious fugitive in the time of peril, acquired the flattering title of *the city of the prophet*.

The province of Yamama, according to Golius, derived its name from a princess whose brilliant and piercing eyes rendered her famous among the Arabs, and gave rise to the proverb, *more sharp-sighted than Yamama*.

Etymology is in a great measure the region of fancy and conjecture, yet in the pursuit of know-

ledge it is not to be altogether despised. The land of the Arabs has been supposed to derive its name from the hebrew word *arab* or *ereb*, which, as a verb signifies *to lie in wait*, and as a noun, it denotes the *west*, *a mixture*, and *merchandise*. Now, without calling in the aid of imagination, it is easy to find reasons why the country in question should be designated Arabia. In the first place, from the days of Ishmael to the present time, the Arabs have been freebooters; the wilderness was given to them as their inheritance, and they think themselves authorised to plunder any who presume to enter their dominions. Hence to lie in ambush for the traveller is considered by them, not as an outrage on the laws of human society, but as the prosecution of a lawful means of subsistence.

In the second place, if we take the word as a substantive signifying the west, the case will then stand thus: the Scripture denominates the eastern provinces of Arabia *eretz Kedem*, *the land of the east*, and the western, *Arabah*. In process of time the Ishmaelites, who inhabited the east, extended themselves to the west, and gave this name to the whole peninsula.

In the third place, it is alleged, that the Scripture calls the Arabs a mingled people, and that the ancients teach us, that many and various tribes were mingled and confined within the seas and gulfs that encircle Arabia.

In the last place, when the word is taken in reference to commerce, it is pleaded that from the

earliest periods, the Arabs have been addicted to traffic in gold, myrrh, frankincence, spices, and precious stones, the natural productions of some parts of their soil. It will be unfortunate if in one or the other of these significations, the reason of the name is not found.

It is now time to offer some observations on the manner in which Arabia was peopled, and on the qualities most remarkable in its inhabitants. And in doing this, we cannot help noticing one of the most astonishing accomplishments of prophecy, that can be imagined. When Hagar fled from the face of her mistress, the angel of the Lord found her in the wilderness by a fountain of water, and said to her, *Behold I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude: Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael, (God hath heard) because the Lord hath heard thy affliction; and he will be a wild man, his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren.*

The first event announced in this prediction is that the posterity of Ishmael should be very numerous. Accordingly, we learn from the 21st. chapter of Genesis that Ishmael married an Egyptian woman; from the 25th, we learn that he had twelve sons who were princes, i. e. phylarchs, or the heads and rulers of distinct tribes; and in the 37th, we find the descendants of Ishmael carrying

on trade with Egypt in company with some Midianites. The wilderness of Paran, in which Ishmael dwelt at the time of his marriage, was situate in the north of Arabia, in the vicinity of Mount Sinai.* In the list which Moses has given us of the sons of Ishmael, the names of several of the Arab nations may be distinctly traced. For instance, Nebajoth, Kedar and Jetur, or Itur, appear in that list, and the Nabatheans, the Kedreans, and the Itureans, were in after times considerable clans among the Arabs. Ancient writers make mention of the Mesitæ as a people inhabiting a district of the north of Arabia. And the Septuagint translators of the Bible render the clause *in the land of Uz* *en chora Mesitidæ*, or in the region of the Mesitæ, which makes it probable that Job was an Arab. Tema, mentioned in the sixth chapter of Job was a town or province

* When Moses, the man of God, blessed the children of Israel before his death, he said, The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them, he shined forth from Mount Paran. Deut. xxxiii. 1. Horeb and Sinai are two peaks on the same mountainous ridge not far from each other. See *Po-cocke's Description of the East, Vol. I. 145*. The mount and desart of Paran are about forty miles distant from Sinai. In going from Egypt to the land of promise, the route of the Israelites lay through Arabia Petræa, which having entered, they turned to the south along the sea shore; and it was in that triangular nook, which lies between the Jam Suph, or, weedy sea, and the Elanitic gulf, that their wants were supplied with water from the rock, and bread from Heaven; and it was there that the Law was given in circumstances of awful magnificence.

of Arabia well peopled in the time of Job; hence *the troops of Tema*; and Tema was the name of one of the sons of Ishmael. He who makes due allowance for the obscurity and imperfection of ancient history, and for the gradual changes and corruptions to which the names of persons and places are ever subject, will not be surprised that we are not able to trace more minutely the names of the sons of Ishmael among the tribes that peopled the Arabian peninsula.

The psalmist Asaph, when making complaints of the enemies of Israel, speaks of the tabernacles of Edom, and the Ishmaelites; of Moab, and the Hagarenes.* Agareni and Hagareni, Arra-
eeni and Saraceni, are often met with in ancient geographers and historians, and are supposed by good critics to be several ways of writing the name of the same people. Kimchi insinuates that they were the descendants of Hagar by an Arab after she left Abraham; while others maintain that they were the posterity of Ishmael, and were named Hagareni from the rocky region which they inhabited. Now, if it is granted that the Saracens sprung from the loins of Ishmael, there is no occasion to look further for the innumerable multitude of his offspring; for according to the statements of Oriental writers, the Saracens were as the leaves in autumn, or as the sand on the shores of the ocean.

* Psalm lxxxiii. 6.

Equally plain and evident is the fulfilment of the promise that Ishmael should become a great nation. Mohammed and his successors by artifice and force brought a sufficient number of the independent tribes to coalesce to form the basis of a powerful nation, which soon extended itself by an impetuous tide of conquest over a great part of Asia and Europe. Who that had seen Ishmael, a miserable outcast, ready to die of thirst and fatigue, could have anticipated this? We may apply, with a change of tense, the language of Isaiah;—A little one became a thousand, and a small one a strong nation.

There are three other remarkable properties distinctly predicted of the descendants of Ishmael,—that they should be *wild, hostile, and invincible*. The wildness of Ishmael is compared to that of the mountain ass,* whose house is the

* He will lie *phere adam* says the hebrew text. *Phere* may be translated *onager* or *asinus sylvestris*; *tam ferus quam onager* is the paraphrase of Bochart. The onager or wild ass differs something in shape and colour from the tame, and, in the room of being slow and sluggish, is fleet and spirited.

Diodorus Siculus, describes the Arabs as living *sub dio*, in the open air, without houses, fruits, culture, or wine, calling the desert their country; and as being eminently lovers of liberty, to preserve which, the desert was at once their defence and dwelling.

When Demetrius invaded the territory of the Nabathean Arabs, one of them addressed him thus, in the name of his brethren; “King Demetrius, what would you have? What has induced you to invade a people inhabiting the wilderness,

wilderness, who scorneth the multitude of the city, and regardeth not the crying of the driver, and whose pasture is the range of the mountains.

There are three classes of people in the world, far distant from each other, to whom the epithet *wild* is judged to be very appropriate; the Indians, the Irish, and the Arabs.* These people are not,

where neither water, corn, wine, nor other things, without which you cannot subsist, are to be found? We inhabit these desolate plains for the sake of liberty, and submit to such inconveniencies as no other people can bear, in order to enjoy it. You can never force us to change our sentiments or way of life; neither can you, for want of necessaries, stay long here; therefore we desire you to retire out of our country."

The prophets of the old testament allude to the Arabs as a people dwelling in tents, and inhabiting the wilderness; and from this circumstance of their living in fragile, moveable, habitations, they received the denomination of *Scenites* or *Skenites*, from the greek *skene*, a tent; and at the present day the same race of people are called Bedouins, or inhabitants of the desert. Thus, as Ishmael, like the wild ass, led a free, independent, and erratic kind of life, in the deserts of Arabia, which God gave to him, so his posterity, through the vicissitudes of four thousand years, have remained a distinct people, preserved their inheritance, and still present to the traveller, the living image of their exiled progenitor.

* A few years ago I travelled with a man who amused me by relating several anecdotes out of the ancient Irish History. These anecdotes were very acceptable at the time, but I did not give myself much trouble to preserve an exact recollection of them. One however, was to this effect, That the daughter of Pharoah, who rescued Moses from a watery grave, and trained him up in the wisdom of the Egyptians, emigrated to Ireland and there ended her days.

however equally wild ; for a little persuasion and kind treatment will induce the Indians and the Irish to forego the rude and rustic qualities of

General Valancy has proved the old Irish language to be of an oriental original. And in viewing the picture which travellers and historians have drawn of the Arabs, I cannot help being struck with the affinity between them and the Irish, or, at least, what the Irish are reported to be.

A simultaneous view of some of the points of agreement may amuse, if it does not convince, the reader.

I. The Arabs are of prominent and marked features.

II. They are intrepid, agile, and active.

III. They are of quick apprehension and lively wit.

IV. Curious and inquisitive.

V. Vehement in love, and fierce in anger.

VI. Impatient of injuries and exceedingly vindictive.

VII. They cultivate the imagination and have a natural flow of eloquence.

VIII. With them, hospitality is one of the first and greatest of virtues.

IX. They are simple in their manners and way of life, and frank and ingenuous in their disposition.

We might trace a resemblance in other particulars, but we recollect the royal maxim, that cautions against making comparisons.

Camden's description of the Irish is concise, and has been applauded for its accuracy :—

“*Ingeniosi sunt, corporis lineamentis conspicui, mirifica carnis mollitiæ et propter musculorum teneritudinem agilitate incredibili et in universam gens hæc corpore valida, et imprimis agilis, animo forte et elato, ingenio acri, bellicosa, vitæ prodiga, laboris et inediæ patiens, veneri indulgens, hospitibus perbenigna, amore constans, inimiciis implacabilis, crudelitæ levis, gloriæ avida, contumeliæ et injuriæ impatiens, et in omnes actus vehementissima.*”

their forefathers ; but Ishmael has sons, indigenous to the sands and solitudes of Arabia, who have never bowed their necks to the yoke of luxury, nor bartered the wild freedom of nature, for the slavish refinements of arts and society. The descendants of Ishmael were to be characterised by a hostile spirit towards their neighbours : they were doomed by the irrevocable decrees of Providence to be eternal strangers to the spirit of friendship and philanthropy. Here is the strange phenomenon of a people who consider themselves as aliens to the rest of the human species, and as authorised to retaliate, by enmity and rapine, the injury which their remote progenitor sustained in being ejected from his father's house.

The hospitality of the Arabs may be urged against the truth of this picture. With them parsimony was the virtue of women, but the indelible reproach of men ; hence an Arab poet upbraided the inhabitants of Waset that their men had not a heart to give, nor their women, to deny. But though the Arabs were famous for kindling the *fires of hospitality* at night, they would not hesitate to plunder their guests after they had departed in peace the next morning. And if in robbing the merchant and wayfaring man, or making a hostile incursion into some contiguous territory, it was necessary to commit acts of bloodshed and cruelty, the hand of the Arab was not backward.

Some writers too accuse the Arabs of being exceedingly tenacious of anger, and prone to revenge.

which the physicians ascribe to their feeding on the flesh of the camel, but which the interpreter of prophecy will, perhaps, attribute to another cause.

The last feature in the prophetic delineation of the Ishmaelites is their security and invincible independence. If love produces love, hatred may be expected to generate hatred; hence it is not surprising that the Arabs should have enemies; while their hands were against every one, it is not strange that every one's hand should be against them; but the wonder is, that they should be able to defend their lives and liberty against the superior art and arms of the surrounding nations, whose resentment they so often provoked. The spirit of inspiration had declared that Ishmael should dwell in the midst of all his brethren; and it is a fact well attested that potent nations, headed by martial princes, repeatedly attempted the subjugation of the Arabs, but in vain. The Egyptians under Sesostris first aspired to dominion over these hardy sons of freedom; The Assyrians, and Medes and Persians were successors in the fruitless effort. When the east submitted to the impetuous prowess of Alexander, the Arabs alone held out and refused to send ambassadors. An army sent by Antigonus to take and sack Petra, succeeded in the attempt, but was afterwards cut to pieces by the pursuing Arabs. Pompey compelled a tribe or two to pay tribute to the Romans, but this was little more than the acquisition of a

single bay in comparison with the ocean. *Ælius Gallus* undertook to add the spicy regions of *Arabia Felix* to the empire of *Augustus*, and for that purpose fitted out a large fleet ; he spent two years in the expedition, and gained some considerable advantages by the superior discipline of his troops ; but the destiny of *Ishmael* prevailed, and the gallant Roman was compelled to abandon his object. *Trajan*, with the power of the world at his command, and decked with the spoils of the fierce warriors of *Germany* and *Parthia*, turned his hand against *Ishmael* ; but having invested the metropolis of the *Hagarenes*, he narrowly escaped falling by the hands of the enemy, and was obliged to raise the siege : the temporary reduction of a few inconsiderable and unproductive provinces was all the fruit which this hoary son of *Mars* could gain by pursuing the toils of war among the *Arabs*. Thus, the decrees of *Providence*, like the rocks which send back the roaring billows of the ocean, set bounds to the stratagems and passions of men ; and thus are we furnished with plain and irresistible evidence that the Most High ruleth among the nations of the earth, and disposes of them according to his eternal designs.

Before we fix our eyes on *Mohammed* reforming the laws and superstitions of the *Arabs*, it may be useful to enquire, what was the primitive state of religion and morals among that people. If the sacred dictates of reason and truth are held conclusive and peremptory any where, they ought to

be in the worship of God. But so far is this from being the case, that the religion of mighty nations has often been determined by adventitious circumstances, by ancient custom, by clandestine artifice, or despotic authority.

The religion of the Arabs, it is probable, was originally pure Theism, derived by tradition from the great patriarch of the east. But if the children of Isaac, notwithstanding their being trained up in the discipline and instruction of the Pentateuch and the prophets, could not refrain, when they beheld the moon walking in bright and silent majesty, from pouring out libations and offering cakes to her, as the queen of heaven; it is not singular that the offspring of Ishmael, who had nothing to guide them but the feeble and uncertain lights of reason and tradition, should fall into the common error of worshipping the sun, the planets, and the stars. The simple Arabs, being strangers to those arts and inventions by which man protects himself against the asperities of nature, dreaded the stormy aspect of the wintry Orion, and welcomed the sweet and genial influences of the vernal Pleiades, by which the drought of the desert was allayed, and shrubs, and fruits, and flowers produced. They were also acquainted with Mazzaroth, or the signs of the zodiac, which they watched for in their season. In their nocturnal peregrinations, it was natural and necessary for them to observe the revolution of the celestial orbs; it was thus they measured their

time and directed their marches; while the various scene of beauty, magnificence, and motion, presented by the unclouded expanse of heaven, would supply amusement and pleasure at once to the eyes, to the imagination, and to the intellect, and thereby enliven the sombre shades of night, and mitigate the severity of toil.

To effect any material change in public opinion, generally requires time. So with regard to that alteration of belief which took place among the first generations of men, with respect to the heavenly bodies, we may suppose that it was gradually introduced.

By a fiction of fancy or a conjecture of reason it was given out, that those shining globes, which are seen revolving in the fields of æther, are organised bodies, animated and put in motion by invisible spirits, just as the human body is informed and actuated by the soul; these spirits were supposed to be something above human, and something less than divine, and therefore suited and designed to be mediators between God and man. To contemplate the heavens with a superstitious eye would be the natural consequence of this belief.

But as the brilliant tabernacles of these mysterious and mediatorial powers were sometimes obscured by clouds, and sometimes concealed by the position of the earth, it was necessary to conciliate their favour by making some memorial of them, the sight of which should keep alive the

devout ardor of their worshippers, during their absence. Hence images; the images were consecrated, and it was imagined that they thereby became pregnant with a portion of the demigod; in process of time, the original of the image was forgotten, and the habit of prostration before it converted it into a god.

Truth, say the doctors, is one and the same; while error is manifold and ever varying: if so, we may easily account for that host of errors and superstitions that sprouted up among the Arabs. Having left the straight and narrow path of truth, they wandered in the oblique and spreading mazes of delusion.

To find out and recite the names, the pedigree, the genders, and the attributes, of the general and local idols, of the Arabs, would require the patience of an antiquary; but it is enough to learn that the titles and epithets given to many of them confirm the theory of their being the symbols of the spheres.

Some of the Arabs are said to have believed neither in a creation past, nor a resurrection to come, ascribing the production of things to nature, and their dissolution to age; but others believed in both and therefore had a camel sent out of the world after them that they should not be obliged to travel on foot on the other side the grave.

As the love of freedom has ever been the characteristic of the Bedouins, their country has, at

successive periods, become a place of refuge to such as have made their escape from corporeal and mental slavery. When the arms and pride of Persia fell prostrate before the hero of Macedon, many of the disciples of Zoroaster found an asylum in Arabia, and there propagated their faith. The several wars, which desolated Judea, dispersed the seed of Sarah, and caused many of them to look for a safe retreat among the descendants of Hagar. We find Arabians among the first converts to the christian religion; and soon after this religion was professed and maintained by the Roman emperors, the variety of opinions held in Arabia was increased by an influx of heretics, who fled from the proscriptions of imperial edicts. How sweet to such people, after being hunted by the blood-hounds of a hierarchy, is the desert where they can live in peace, where they can think as they see reason, and speak and act as they think!

About seven hundred years before Mohammed, Abu Carb Asad, king of Yaman, introduced Judaism among his subjects. Some centuries after, Yusef, one of his successors, raised a terrible persecution against all who would not turn Jews, putting them to the most cruel tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a pit of glowing fire, which procured him the title of *lord of the pit*. The barbarity of this zealot did not go unpunished; for the king of Ethiopia sent forces against him which drove him to such ex-

tremity, that he spurred his horse into the sea, and lost his kingdom and his life together.*

Laws, literature, and arts, are weighty subjects as connected with the character of a nation. It is not calculated to raise very high expectations with

* This Yusef was surnamed Dhu Nowas also from his flowing curls. The 85th chapter of the Koran alludes to this persecution, and as the chapter is short it may serve as an agreeable and appropriate specimen of *the book* of Mohammedans.

“In the name of the most merciful God. By the heavens adorned with signs; by the promised day of judgment; by the witness and the witnessed; cursed were the contrivers of the pit of fire supplied with fuel; when they sat round the same and were witnesses of what they did against the true believers: and they afflicted them for no other reason, but because they believed in the mighty, the glorious God, unto whom belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth: and God is witness of all things. Verily for those who persecute the true believers of either sex, and afterwards repent not, is prepared the torment of hell; and they shall suffer the pain of burning. But for those who believe, and do that which is right, are destined gardens beneath which rivers flow: this shall be great felicity.

Verily the vengeance of thy Lord is severe. He createth and he restoreth to life; he is inclined to forgive and gracious: the possessor of the glorious throne; who effecteth that which he pleaseth. Hath not the story of the hosts of Pharoah, and of Thamud, reached thee? Yet the unbelievers cease not to accuse the divine revelations of falsehood: but God compasseth them behind, and they cannot escape. Verily that which they reject is a glorious Koran; the original of which is written in a table kept in heaven.”

Mohammed here calls the persecuted christians *true believers*; in this he is consistent with himself as he every where acknowledges christianity to have been the true religion before he taught the Islam.

respect to these, that Mohammed has stiled the period which elapsed before he arose *the time of ignorance*. But the policy of an ambitious demagogue might prompt him to exaggerate the pristine darkness of his country, in order that it might serve as a foil to his illumination. As this, therefore, is a matter on which the prophet might be a partial judge, we shall look for information elsewhere.

The statesman of the present day will cast a disdainful smile on the simple legislation of the ancient Arabs; and it is true that they were total strangers to the greater part of what, in this enlightened age, goes under the respectable name of *government*. The first form of dominion which subsisted among them was the patriarchal, and this was succeeded by that of the Sheiks and Emirs which is continued among the Bedouins of the present time. Each Sheik governed a Douwar or collection of tents, answering to a village or town. Every one of these Douwars was a little principality, superintended by the chief of that family, which was of the greatest substance and reputation among the families composing it. The Emirs, or, as the Greeks called them, *phylarchs* superintended a whole tribe, and their authority of course extended to many of the above mentioned Douwars. The Emirs were not all of equal rank; but some were exalted above others by the title of *grand* or *Emir of Emirs*, from whose decision there was no appeal. Here is a rude form of pastoral government which has braved the

vicissitudes and storms of four thousand years ; a convincing proof that its object was not the aggrandisement of the *few* but the advantage of the *many*.

Sheik is derived from a root which signifies age and learning : among the Arabs, age was venerable, and it would seem that the authority of the Sheiks depended on their years, gravity, and wisdom. *Emir* denotes a man who has power to command and to enforce obedience ; but the greatest of Emirs was not invested with despotic authority, he was nothing more than chief magistrate, empowered to defend the confederated tribes in the possession of their property, laws, liberty, and usages.

The cities, Mecca, and Medina, were subject to popular forms of government, somewhat like to those of ancient Greece, in which distinguished individuals might attain to aristocratic eminence in virtue of their wealth, their public spirit, their wisdom, or their eloquence. In some of the luxurious provinces of the south, the people submitted to the sceptre of kings and queens ; but even there the specious fiction of the regal *jus divinum* was unknown, and the throne was established on the basis of a compact between the ruler and the subject.

The ancient literature, laws, and customs, of the Arabs are involved in much obscurity. Job's pathetic wish that *his words were written*, is a convincing proof that letters were not unknown in

the north of Arabia, even in the earliest times ; but though known, there is great reason to think that they were not much used. The language of the Arabs at the present bears evident marks of its affinity to the hebrew, yet in the lapse of ages it must have undergone many changes. In the history of our own language, we see how possible it is for the *character* to be changed, and the forms of speech to be varied, while the substance of the language is preserved. The same has happened to the Arabic. The Cufic letters, so called from Cufa, a city of Irak, form the basis of the present alphabet, and were taught at Mecca by a stranger who settled there soon after the birth of Mohammed. But anterior to this revolution, various dialects (differing from each other as the Cockney from the York) were in use among the various tribes ; but among these dialects, that of the Homerites, and that of the Koreish, had an ascendancy above the rest ; and of these two idioms, the Arabic doctors prefer the latter to the former, tracing it up to their father Ishmael, and extolling it for its purity and perspicuity. The Koreish were a sacerdotal and literary tribe, and, as from the remotest antiquity, they had the custody of the Caaba where the monuments of Arabic genius were exhibited and preserved, they had a fine opportunity of enriching their dialect. Additional facilities would be afforded by the great concourse of strangers whom custom, curiosity, and the desire of improvement, brought to visit the sacred

shrine. Literature is the elegant offspring of ease and affluence, and it is probable, that a greater portion of these blessings fell to the lot of the Koreish than to any other tribe. As the man of letters is a citizen of the world, and not the slave of partial prejudices and provincial dialects, it may be supposed that he will acquaint himself with the language of his country in its purest and most copious form ; and as the idiom of Mecca was that to which all the tribes, from the confines of Syria to the Indian ocean, yielded the palm of excellence, it may be fairly taken as the standard of the language. This language, the learned Arabs extol as unrivalled for its harmony, expression, and unbounded variety ; their great lexicon they called *kamus* or the ocean, where the voluble orator might find eighty names for honey, two hundred for a serpent, five hundred for a lion, and a thousand for a sword.

If, where there is a great deal of conceit, there is generally some talent, the proficiency of the Arabs in the art of public speaking may be argued from the circumstance, that they would not allow that any nation understood it except themselves and the Persians, and the latter they considered greatly their inferiors. Two of the ancient Arabs, Koss and Sabban, immortalized themselves by their oratory ; hence the proverbs *more expert in the art of speaking than Koss, more eloquent than Sabban*. The orations of the Arabs were of two kinds, metrical, and prosaic ; the

former, they compared to pearls strung, and the latter, to loose ones. The speaker, whose treasures consisted of unconnected gems, wrought upon the passions of his audience, by the brilliance of his wit, the splendor of his imagery, the fullness of his periods, the elegance of his expressions, the grace of his action, and the acuteness of his proverbial sayings.

In this land of freedom, the efforts of the imagination were not cramped by those rules of criticism which have restrained their luxuriance in other countries. The oratory of the Arabs had another advantage. The rules of art require people in many instances to conceal what they do feel, and to affect what they do not. But restraint and affectation are the enemies of genius; and the lofty Arab was equally remote from making a secret of his contempt for others, and from feeling embarrassed while blazoning his own virtues and exploits; and his auditors, so far from being disgusted at his self adulation, were enraptured with his eloquence, his courage, and his love.

It is a maxim of classic antiquity, that a poet and an orator are near of kin, and by the Arabs, the functions of the two were united. If they knew nothing of poetry as an art dependant on subtle speculations, and supported by complex machinery, they are not on that account to be despised; for nature was before art, and has asserted her rights and displayed her powers in

every age and nation. The mind, wrought upon by the grandeur, beauty, or worth, of external objects, or roused to bold and generous pursuits by the impulse of its own ardour, naturally expresses itself in an elevated stile, and paints its ideas by the help of bold and glowing figures.*

* The most ancient epic poem in existence, was composed and sung in the land of the Arabs. This is the song of Moses celebrating the triumph of the God of Israel, over the tyrant who had oppressed his people. Moses himself might be considered at this time as a semi-Arab, for he had spent forty years in the land of Midian, in the vicinity of Mount Sinai, and had married one of the daughters of the priest or prince of that place. I say *priest or prince*, because the hebrew word *cohen* signifies both. When we are told that Moses fled to the land of Midian, *sat down by a well*, helped the shepherdesses who came to water their flocks, and was hospitably received by their father; what a simple but expressive picture have we of the past and present circumstances, and manners of that country?

Moses had been instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, which, if we except the art of divination, consisted, for the most part, in arithmetic and geometry, and other grave sciences of a kindred nature. But we have no monuments to prove that the Egyptians had a taste for poetry; and therefore whatever advantage Moses had derived in this respect from human culture, we must suppose he had acquired during his residence in the family of his father-in-law.

That Moses wrote the book of Job, has been the opinion of several learned Jews and Christians; and if it is a correct one, the probability is that he wrote it while he lived in the family of Reuel; for what leisure had he for such a work, from the time of his receiving his commission at the burning bush, until the time of his death? That Arabia is the scene of the poem, may be demonstrated; the dramatis personæ, with the exception of one, who makes a conspicuous figure at the beginning,

In emerging from the chaos of barbarism, the imagination is one of the first faculties to take wing, and the splendid career of civilization, policy, and art, has, in almost every nation, begun with the poet. Thus among the Greeks, the first divines and legislators were poets; and the violence of primæval ferocity was subdued by the fascinations of fable and of song.

Among the Arabs, a poet was a man of high rank and consequence; his effusions polished and preserved their language, and perpetuated the genealogies of families, and the memory of pleasing stories and great actions. The foaling of a mare, the birth of a son, the arrival of a guest, and the celebrity of a poet, were causes of reciprocal joy and festivity. When in any tribe a man became famous for his poetical

are Arabs, or people in their immediate neighbourhood; the customs and events alluded to, are consonant with what is known of the Arabs; and the sublime ideas and glowing metaphors, which abound in the poem, accord with the genius and stile of that people. There are no references in it either to the written law, or to the prodigies which accompanied its promulgation, or to the *exodus* of the Beni Israel, which is a strong presumption of its being more ancient than either. The hebrew text contains many words of Arabic extraction, which may be very well accounted for, on the supposition of its having been rendered from the latter language into the former. The leading sentiments and occurrences might be communicated either in a written or oral form to Moses, while in the family of Reuel; and to adjust them in order, and clothe them in a hebrew dress, would be an elegant amusement for his leisure hours.

and oratoric powers, a public entertainment was given at which the women, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, sang in the presence of their sons and husbands the happiness of their native clan, who had a hero to defend their honour, and a herald to proclaim their exploits, and immortalize their fame. On such occasions too, the tribe which Providence had blessed with a poet received congratulations from the neighbouring tribes.

As an elegant poem was considered one of the noblest productions of superior talents, a spirit of emulation was kept up, and an annual assembly was held at Ocadh, which lasted for a month, during which, the Arabs employed themselves, not only in buying and selling, but also in reciting their poems and speeches, and contending for the palm of eloquence.* The simple state of

* A fine specimen of the poetry and eloquence of the Arabs has been lately laid before the public in the translation of *Antar*, the celebrated Bedouin Romance.

Antar was one of the seven poets, parts of whose poems were transcribed in letters of gold on Egyptian paper, and hung up in the temple of Mecca, whence they were named *Modhahebat* or *golden* and *Moallakat* or *suspended*. These *Moallakat* have been rendered into English by that great orientalist Sir W. Jones. But as they consist of a few pages only from each poet, they afford but scanty illustration of the pastoral and heroic songs of the Arabs.

The enthusiasm of poetry and war united in the breast of *Antar*; his ambition and his love rose above the constellations of heaven; and, as he rushed on the foe, with the strength and fierceness of a lion, he roared out his verses with the voice of thunder.

society among the Arabs required but few laws, and these laws were promulgated and preserved by their bards ; hence it became a common saying among them, that God had given them four peculiar things, turbans instead of diadems, tents in the place of houses, swords in the room of entrenchments, and poems instead of written laws. The ancient Arabs were not wholly ignorant of the mechanical arts ; the women wove their wearing apparel, and the men manufactured their instruments of agriculture and war. But they chiefly valued themselves on their eloquence, their hospitality, their skill in horsemanship, and their dexterity, strength, and courage, in battle.*

* The following anecdote shews how scrupulously the Arabs, even out of their country, preserve the spirit and customs of their ancestors. The adventure took place between a Moor in the service of the Bey of Tripoli and a hostile Arab. "A chief of a party of the Bey's troops, pursued by the Arabs, lost his way, and was benighted near the enemy's camp. Passing the door of a tent which was open, he stopped his horse and implored assistance, being almost overcome and exhausted with fatigue and thirst. The warlike Arab bid his enemy enter the tent with confidence, and treated him with all the hospitality and respect, for which his people are so famous. The highest among them, like the heroes of old, wait on their guest. A man of rank, when visited by a stranger, quickly fetches a lamb from his flock, and kills it, and his wife superintends her women in dressing it, in the best manner. With some of the Arabs, the primitive custom of washing the feet is yet kept, and this compliment is performed by the head of the family. Their supper was the best of the fatted lamb roasted ; their dessert, dates and dried fruits ; and the lady of the tent, to honour more

But perhaps my readers are apprehensive that I am losing sight of my object ; and the only way in which I can justify this digression, at the tribunal of the critics, is by anticipating the conspicu-

particularly her husband's guest, set before him a dish of bosen of her own making. It was of flour and water, kneaded into a paste, and left on a cloth to rise while the fire was lighted, then throwing it on the embers, and turning it often, it was taken off half-baked, broke into pieces and kneaded again with new milk, oil, and salt, made into the shape of a pudding and garnished with kadeed, which is small bits of mutton dried and salted in the highest manner.

These two chiefs, though opposed in war, talked with candour and friendship to each other, recounting the achievements of themselves and their ancestors, when a sudden paleness overspread the face of the host. He started from his seat and retired, and in a few moments afterwards, sent word to his guest, that his bed was prepared, and all things ready for his repose ; that he was not well himself, and could not attend to finish his repast ; that he had examined the Moor's horse, and found it too much exhausted to bear him through a hard journey the next day, but that, before sunrise, an able horse, with every accommodation, would be ready at the door of the tent, where he would meet him and expect him to depart with all expedition. The stranger, not able to account farther for the conduct of his host, retired to rest.

An Arab waked him in time to take refreshment before his departure, which was ready prepared for him ; but he saw none of the family till he perceived, on reaching the door of the tent, the master of it holding the bridle of his horse, and supporting his stirrups for him to mount, which is done among the Arabs as the last office of friendship. No sooner was the stranger mounted, than his host announced to him, that through the whole of the enemy's camp, he had not so great an enemy to dread as himself. " Last night," said he, " in the exploits

ous figure which the Mohammedan institutions and wars are to make in the subsequent pages of this work. To judge well of the powers of an artist we ought to be acquainted with his instruments and materials.

There seldom, if ever, has been a man more variously represented than Mohammed. According

of your ancestors you discovered to me the murderer of my father. There lie all the habits he was slain in, (which were at that moment brought to the door of the tent) over which, in the presence of my family, I have many times sworn to revenge his death, and to seek the blood of his murderer from sunrise to sunset; the sun has not yet risen; the sun will be no more than risen when I shall pursue you, after you have in safety quitted my tent, where, fortunately for you, it is against our religion to molest you, after your having sought my protection, and found a refuge there; but all my obligations cease as soon as we part, and from that moment, you must consider me as one determined on your destruction, in whatever part, or at whatever time, we may meet again. You have not mounted a horse inferior to the one that stands ready for myself; on its swiftness surpassing that of mine depends one of our lives or both." After saying this, he shook his adversary by the hand, and parted from him. The Moor, profiting by the few moments he had in advance, reached the Bey's army in time to escape his pursuer, who followed him closely, as near the enemy's camp as he could with safety."

The name of the Moorish chief was Hadgi Ben Hassunna: the letter from which this paragraph is copied is dated Jan. 8th, 1785, and the lady who wrote it was sister-in-law to Mr. Tully, British consul at Tripoli; She dined in company with Hadgi a few days after the occurrence took place, and learned the particulars from himself.

*Letters written during a ten years residence
at the Court of Tripoli, Vol. I. 162.*

to some, he was an execrable impostor, base born, deformed, morbid, cruel, and dissolute ; while according to others, he was a disinterested patriot and inspired prophet, of noble descent, handsome person, elevated mind, generous heart, easy and eloquent address, and irreproachable character. Where such repugnant statements are made by rival partizans, the truth often lies in a medium between them.

The Moslem writers have been minute in tracing up the genealogy of Mohammed, through a respectable line of ancestors, to Ishmael and the great patriarch of the east. But whatever advantages of fame and popularity he might derive from this remote pedigree, he received more substantial benefits from the wealth and influence of his immediate kindred. Among these should be mentioned Hashem, *the sublime*, and Abdal Motalleb, *the venerable* ; the former relieved the distress of Mecca, under an oppressive famine, by the gains of merchandise ; and the latter, after entertaining the poor of the city, distributed his bounty to the fowls of the air, and the wild beasts of the earth.

Abdal Motalleb lived to a good old age, and was blessed with six daughters and thirteen sons, among whom, Abdallah the father of Mohammed, was reputed the most graceful and modest. In the twenty-fourth year of his age, Abdallah married Amena, who is described as the most beautiful, prudent, and virtuous lady of her tribe.

The sole issue of this marriage was the wondrous child Mohammed. On the seventh day after his birth, his generous grandfather, Abdal Motalleb, gave a splendid entertainment to which he invited the principal of the Koreish, who after their repast, desired him to give a name to the infant he had invited them to see. Abdal immediately replied, I name this child Mohammed. The Koreish chiefs astonished at this, asked if he would not prefer calling his grandson by a name which had belonged to the family? to which he answered, *may the Most High glorify in heaven him whom he has created on earth*; in which he alluded to the name *Mohammed*, which signifies *greatly praised or glorified*.

The Mohammedan doctors have not forgotten to give a circumstantial account of the prodigies which attended the birth of their prophet. A supernatural light shone upon the cities, towns, and villages, of Syria; ambitious dæmons were displaced from the stations which they had usurped in the celestial orbs; the sacred fire of the Persians, which had burned for a thousand years, was totally extinguished; fourteen towers fell from the palace of the Persian monarch; and an Arabsage and diviner came to Mecca, and foretold the future greatness of the child. And what must have been the astonishment of Amena's attendants, on witnessing the birth of a child, who had scarcely drawn a breath, when he fell on his knees and exclaimed, *God is great; there is one God only; and I am his prophet!*

But though the powers of heaven and earth thus declared in favour of Mohammed, they did not hinder his speedily becoming a helpiess orphan ; Abdallah expired when his son was about two months old, and Amena, when he was about six years. Two years after, died Abdal Motalleb who had shewn a tender and affectionate regard to his orphan grandson. Perhaps the unforeseen disaster which nipped the blooming virtues and graces of Abdallah and Amena, dissipated their wealth also ; for Mohammed was left dependant on his uncles, with no other patrimony, than five camels and a female slave.

Abu Taleb, the eldest of his uncles, took charge of the orphan, and through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, was his faithful friend and guardian ; the child was trained up in habits of industry and application, was instructed in the business of a merchant, and at thirteen years of age, accompanied his uncle on a trading excursion into Syria. Scarcely any thing worthy of notice is recorded of our young merchant till, in his twenty-fifth year, we find him taking a second journey on business into Syria, in the service of Cadijah, an illustrious and opulent widow of his own tribe, to whom he had been recommended by his uncle. A servant who attended Mohammed on this journey, reported on his return, that he had seen an angel spreading out his wings to shade his master from the scorching rays of the sun. Whether Cadijah believed this story or not,

the person and manners of her young factor were so much to her wishes, that she lost no time in rewarding his talents and fidelity with her hand and fortune. The pride of wealth and pedigree may scowl at the damsel, or widow, who purchases with her riches and condescension, the warm heart and protecting hand of a youthful adventurer; but Cadijah received more happiness from the conjugal virtues of her husband, than solitary state and opulence could ever impart; and Mohammed was aided more in the prosecution of his designs, by the treasures and connections of his wife, than by the miracles of his birth.

At what time the vast design of uniting the scattered Arabs, and forming a mighty church and empire on the discordant basis of sublime truth and selfish fiction, entered the mind of Mohammed, is not known. Though a man of business and of good address in the world, yet he accustomed himself to occasional retirement; and many a splendid project has been formed in the gloomy recesses of solitude, and many a battle fought and kingdom won, in the fantastic microcosm of the imagination.

In the fortieth year of his age, fifteen years posterior to his marriage, in strict agreement with the maxim, that *charity begins at home*, Mohammed disclosed to his family the momentous secret of his divine mission. According to custom, Mohammed had quitted the busy hum of Mecca to perform the duties of religion and enjoy the de-

lights of silence and contemplation on mount Hara, where he had a cave, during the sacred month Ramadan. It was night, and darkness had spread her sable mantle over the face of nature; the stars, gliding softly in their courses, shed their twinkling lustre on the head of the hermit; deep sleep held his balmy dominion over the weary, and perhaps Mohammed himself, overcome with watching and study, fell into a gentle slumber: what an apt conjuncture was this for fancy to conjure up her gay illusions, and impose on the weary and benumbed judgment! Such were the circumstances in which the angel Gabriel made his first appearance to Mohammed, to inform him of his apostleship. On his return to Mecca, Mohammed acquainted Cadijah with what had taken place, who declared herself charmed with such agreeable news, and swore by him in whose hands her soul was, that she was convinced her husband would be the prophet of his nation.

Cadijah was no indolent disciple; she hastened to her cousin Waraka Ebn Nawfal, and informed him of what had taken place, who immediately came into her views, and confirmed her faith by solemnly averring, that Mohammed was the great prophet foretold in the law of Moses, the son of Amran. The prophet's next proselyte was Zeid, his domestic slave, whose prompt credulity instantly raised him to the honour of freedom. The emancipation of this slave was afterwards convert-

ed into a precedent, and became a means of swelling the host of Mohammedan believers.

Whether Abu Taleb received the islam is a disputed point ; but his son Ali, an ardent and impetuous youth, who was under the tuition of his cousin Mohammed, zealously espoused the visions of his master, and making no account of those who believed before him, stiled himself *the first of believers*. The next proselyte was Abu Becr, a man of years and influence, dignified with titles, abounding in riches, and high in reputation. This man, in the time of ignorance, had been called Abdal Caaba, or the servant of the Caaba, which idolatrous surname Mohammed changed into Abdallah, or servant of God. The wisdom and moderation of this man gave such an ascendancy to his opinions, that by his means the little moslem association was increased three-fold. These incipient efforts occupied the space of three years, during which, the islam advanced slowly by a dubious and clandestine progress.

The prophet now thought it time to assume a bolder air, and to publish in a more open manner the high behests of heaven. He therefore ordered an entertainment to be prepared, and a respectable company of his near relations to be invited, to whom he opened his apostolic commission in the following terms : “ I know of no man in the whole peninsula of the Arabs who can offer his kindred any thing more excellent than what I now offer you ; I offer you the happiness

both of this world and of that which is to come ; God Almighty hath commanded me to call you to him ; who therefore among you will assist me herein, and become my brother and my vicegerent ?” Astonishment, timidity, and unbelief, produced silence, which was at length broken by the intrepid courage of the youthful Ali, who rose and replied, “ O prophet, I am the man ; whoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, and break his legs ; O prophet, I will be thy assistant.” Mohammed accepted the offer of his heroic pupil, with joy and confidence, and desired all present to hear and obey Ali, as his deputy and successor. The result was that the assembly broke up in a loud laugh, telling Abu Taleb that he must now pay submission and obedience to his own son. Thus, the islam, which in its progress, swept away the temples of hoary idols, and the bulwarks of mighty nations, resembled in its rise, a scanty and precarious rill, which may be stopped or divided by the foot of the traveller.

But it is truly characteristic of Mohammed that in the room of hanging down his head, and abandoning his object, he assumed courage, and began to preach publicly. The Koreish heard him with some patience, till he presumed to accuse their wise forefathers of ignorance and idolatry, and themselves of perverseness, obstinacy, and superstition, charges which their vanity and self-love would not allow them to receive as the dictates of inspiration. The enemies of the prophet, in

their insidious malice, addressed themselves to Abu Taleb, his principal friend, and they so far succeeded, by their entreaties and menaces, as to induce that venerable chief to remonstrate with his nephew, and endeavour to divert him from his dangerous innovations. But the ardent enthusiast remained inflexible, and assured his uncle that though the sun on his right, and the moon on his left hand, should oppose him, he would not desist from his enterprise. When age has rendered a man unfit for strenuous action, it must be grateful to him to see, that he has some hold of the world he is about to leave by his knowledge and experience; and to undervalue and neglect his advice, is to give the last blow to his consequence. But Abu Taleb was too magnanimous to be offended at the inflexible resolution of his nephew, and continued to protect his person though he could not moderate his measures.

The unbelieving Koreish now became intemperate in their malice, and used the obstinate moslems so injuriously, that in the course of a few years, upwards of a hundred, consisting of men, women, and children, sought an asylum in Ethiopia, where they were hospitably received by the Najashi or king of the country, who nobly refused to deliver them up to their persecutors. When the messengers returned who had been sent with presents to demand the fugitives, the Koreish resolved on a new expedient to suppress the growing heresy. They entered into a solemn

league, by which they bound themselves to contract no marriages with the family of Hashem, and to have no intercourse with them either in social or commercial life; the decree was reduced to writing and laid up in the archives of the Caaba. After a lapse of three years, Mohammed told his uncle, that God had declared his disapprobation of the league, which the Koreish had formed against him, by sending a worm to devour every word of the instrument except one, which was the divine name. Abu Taleb immediately went to the Koreish and acquainted them with this circumstance, and offered to deliver his nephew up to them if it were not as he had stated; but insisted that if it was, they should lay aside their animosity, and rescind their league. The experiment was made and the result was in favour of the prophet.

About eight months after this event Abu Taleb died; he was the Erasmus of the Moham-
medan reformation: three days, or as some say a month after, expired the faithful and generous Cadijah, in consequence of which, this year, which was the tenth of Mohammed's mission, is called the year of mourning. The loss of these respectable friends exposed the prophet afresh to the enmity and insolence of his adversaries, from which he judged it prudent to make a timely retreat. He therefore took with him his servant Zeid and retired to Tayef about sixty miles east of Mecca. Abbas, one of the uncles of Mohammed, lived in Tayef; yet the wealthy and respectable people of

the town received the prophet with such cold formality, and the slaves and inferior people became so vehement in their opposition to him, that he was obliged to depart within the space of a month. On his return to Mecca, Mohammed was repeatedly assailed by open force and secret conspiracy, his followers also were discouraged and maltreated, notwithstanding which, he persisted in the exercise of his prophetic functions, and called upon the pilgrims who approached the holy shrine, to forsake the worship of idols, and pay their homage to the one living and true God. These bold exertions were not without success; for among other converts made by these means were six from Yathreb, or, as it was afterwards called, Medina, who on their return home, spoke in terms of high commendation of the islam, and persuaded their fellow citizens to embrace it. These proselytes are called by the moslem writers *An-sars*, i. e. *auxiliaries*, and *supporters*, because they assisted and saved the prophet in a time of extreme peril.

About this period, Mohammed gave out the monstrous fiction of his nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to the throne of God in the seventh heaven. This desperate experiment on the credulity of the Arabs, was on the eve of proving fatal to the islam, when the credit of the daring impostor was saved by the interposition of Abu Becr, who declared that if Mohammed affirmed that he had been escorted by

Gabriel through seven heavens to the presence of God, he firmly believed it. The sanction of so respectable a name revived the assurance of the abashed moslems, and the veracity of the prophet, in the room of being for ever destroyed, rose to the highest reputation.

The next fortunate incident which aided the progress of the islam, was the arrival of twelve men from Yathreb, who took an oath by which they bound themselves to abstain from theft, fornication, and slander, and to obey Mohammed in all things reasonable. When they returned, Mohammed sent with them Masab Ebn Omair, one of his disciples, to instruct them more fully in the principles and ceremonies of the new religion. The declamations of this missionary were so successful, that in the course of eight or nine months, there was scarcely a house in Yathreb which did not contain a moslem.

These events took place in the twelfth year of Mohammed's mission, stiled the *accepted year*. In the following year Masab returned to Mecca, bringing with him seventy-three men and two women who had embraced the islam, and who, immediately on their arrival, sent for Mohammed and offered him their assistance.

The situation of the prophet was at this time extremely critical. Abu Taleb had been succeeded in the principality of Mecca by Abu Sophian, who was a zealous votary of the gods, and a sanguine foe of the prophet and the islam. An assem-

bly was called to deliberate on the proceedings of the reformer, in which it was resolved, that a sword from each tribe should be plunged in his body. The Arabs say, that the devil himself attended at this council, in the form of a respectable old man, and opposed the imprisonment and exile of the prophet, as doubtful measures, but warmly supported the project of his assassination. Mohammed however was too vigilant for Satan, and became acquainted with the deadly designs of his enemies, in sufficient time to elude them.*

Nothing therefore could be more opportune than the succour tendered to the persecuted prophet by the new converts from Yathreb, with whom he appointed to hold a private conference at al Akaba, a sequestered hill in the vicinity of Mecca. To this meeting, Mohammed was accompanied by his uncle al Abbas, who made a speech to the moslems of Yathreb, in which he observed to them, that as his nephew was obliged to quit his native city and seek an asylum elsewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him; but that if they were not firmly resolved to defend him to the utmost, they had better declare their minds and let him provide for his safety in some other place. They protested their sincerity, and their readiness to

* In the 8th chapter of the Koran there is a passage which relates to this plot:—"Call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might either detain thee in bonds, or put thee to death, or expel thee the city."

defend their prophet against all insults, as they would their wives and children, and engaged on the part of their city that her gates should be open to receive him. At the same time, they discreetly requested to know, *what recompence they were to expect, provided they lost their lives in his cause?* PARADISE, was the reply. The deputies were satisfied, hands were shaken, some verses of the Koran were read, and mutual oaths of fidelity and confederation were taken, in which we may recognize the first rude elements of the mighty empire of the Saracens.

Mohammed, having thus provided for his own safety and that of his followers, encouraged the latter to leave Mecca with as much secrecy as possible, himself, with Abu Becr, and Ali, staying behind. In this state of affairs, the prophet watched, with a penetrating eye, the movements of the conspirators : on one occasion they collected at his door, but they were deceived by Ali, wrapt in the green cloak of his uncle, while he made his escape to the house of Abu Becr ; when the morning returned, Ali arose and convinced the assassins of their mistake ; they respected the courage and spared the life of the noble youth ; and nothing now remained for them, but to spread themselves over the adjacent country in quest of the fugitive. Mohammed and Abu Becr had availed themselves of the obscurity of the night to make their way out of Mecca and to conceal themselves in a cave of mount Thur, where they were hid

three days, and whence they issued, and pursued their journey, through bye-paths, till, by the help of human prudence and miraculous protection, they arrived at Koba, a village within two miles of Yathreb. Having rested himself at Koba, and recovered from the fatigue and consternation of his flight, Mohammed made his public entrance into Yathreb, the citizens of which, to the number of five hundred, flocked out to meet him. The prophet was mounted on a camel, an umbrella defended his head from the rays of the sun, and a turban was unfurled before him to supply the place of a standard : the people received him with the utmost demonstrations of joy, and conducted him amidst loud and universal acclamations to the apartments prepared for him, in which he condescended to remain until he had erected a house for himself. These events caused the name of the city to be changed from Yathreb to Medinet-al-Nabi, the city of the prophet ; or, for the sake of brevity and euphony, Medina.

Mohammed was now surrounded by his faithful friends and disciples, who consisted of two classes, the Mohajerin, or refugees of Mecca, and the Ansars, or auxiliaries and confederates of Medina, whom it was wise to cement in the most cordial fraternity : “ nam concordia, res parvæ crescunt ; discordia, maximæ dilabuntur.”

This fortunate escape of the prophet from Mecca to Medina, has supplied the Mohammedan nations with an epocha from which they still compute

their lunar years. This epocha, called the *Hegira* or *flight*, is computed to correspond with the 15th of July, A. D. 622. The following occurrence caused its being fixed on as the great æra of the moslems under the califate of Omar :—a dispute arose between two persons about a sum of money, which one affirmed, and the other denied, to be due : the creditor applied to the calif for his assistance ; but the debtor alleged that the month mentioned in the bill, did not belong to the present but the following year, and as no year was specified, the calif found it impossible to settle the controversy : But to prevent the recurrence of such disputes, he ordered that for the future, all documents relating to property, should contain the year of the *Hegira* as well as the month of the year.

Mohammed, encouraged by the prosperous state of his affairs, applied himself with augmented diligence and success, to the various avocations of a priest and a prince, of an impostor and a hero. He built a mosque adjoining his house, in which he offered prayers, preached sermons, and fanned the kindling flame of fanaticism ; he changed the kebla, teaching his followers to turn their faces, when they prayed, towards Mecca, in the room of turning them towards Jerusalem ; he instituted the fast of Ramadan, urged the necessity of prayer, and inculcated the sublime doctrine of inexorable destiny ; and lastly, he instilled into the ardent minds of his disciples, the

practical and important lesson, that “the sword is the key of heaven and hell,—that a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, or a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months fasting and prayer,—that whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven, that at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion and odoriferous as musk, and that the loss of his limbs shall be supplied with the wings of angels and cherubims.”

The oracles of Mohammed on the subject of toleration are involved in much obscurity and contradiction; yet it is easy to trace his progress from forbearance to persecution. At first he had nothing to do with the reluctant, preaching was his sole work, and the unbelievers were accountable to God only; “Verily I am no other than a denouncer of threats, and a messenger of good tidings to them that believe.” A subsequent revelation taught him “that the worst cattle in the sight of God are obstinate infidels, and that it is meritorious to slaughter them.” “O prophet! wage war against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be severe unto them: for their dwelling shall be hell; an unhappy journey shall it be thither.”*

* Sale's Koran, chap. vii. viii. ix; pages 203, 215, and 233 of the 1st Vol. Ed. Lond. 1812.

The following passages of the Koran are to be referred to the infancy of the islam—“Verily unto thee belongeth preaching only, but unto us inquisition.”—chap. xiii, “But if they

The prophet was too wise to teach this sanguinary doctrine until his circumstances enabled him to derive advantages from it, by making it the means of gratifying his revenge and ambition. He then threw off the mask of moderation, and seized the golden opportunity of converting the easy faith of his disciples into military enthusiasm, and of teaching them to relinquish ease and safety, and to encounter toil, danger, and death, in the pursuit of empire and glory.

The designs of the prophet required that his faithful moslems should be established in the belief that nothing was more acceptable to God than the conversion or excision of wicked men, and that if they lost their lives in this glorious work, the loss would be instantly forgotten amidst the soft delights of paradise, whose gates were ever open to receive them, and whose blooming *houris* stretched out their arms to embrace them. Mohammed's address would not allow him to be at a loss to give a plausible appearance to his new measures. For fourteen years he had peaceably prosecuted the duties of his mission, and tried to the utmost the efficacy of persuasion; in the room of meeting with implicit faith, he had been repeatedly assailed by sneers and contempt; the Koreish in particular, for whose salvation he had

turn back, verily thy duty is public preaching only."—chap. xvi. "To him who shall go astray, verily I am a warner only."—chap. xxvii. "Public preaching only is incumbent on an apostle."—chap. xxix. pages 58, 83, 222, 237, Vol II.

laboured with all the assiduity of brotherly love, treated him with scorn, and sought his life ; patience and long suffering were now exhausted ; the islam was too sacred to be made the butt of profane jests, and the God of heaven had commissioned him to purge the earth from idols, and to destroy the hardened and inflexible idolaters whom he could not reform.

In the second year of the Hegira, Mohammed began in earnest to try the effects of his martial discipline, by making war and committing depredations on the Koreish. The route of the Caravans from Mecca to Syria, lay through the neighbourhood of Medina, and the frenzy of fanaticism and revenge was inflamed by the fair prospect of plunder. The first considerable victory gained by the Moslem arms, was in the fertile vale of Beder, about twenty miles from Medina, where the prophet with three hundred and thirteen believers engaged and put to flight near a thousand infidels. *All things are possible to him that believeth.* The powers of man are very limited ; yet many a project has failed, not so much through want of ability, as want of confidence and resolution.

The Koreish, on this occasion, fought in defence of a thousand camels laden with the merchandise of Syria, a considerable part of which fell, as booty, into the hands of the victors. The battle of Beder, may seem a trifling skirmish, yet it brought an important accession of strength to the

infant cause of Islam, and is of great celebrity in the annals of the Mohammedan nations.

In this action seventy of the Koreish were taken prisoners, and seventy slain, to revenge whose death three thousand warriors marched the following year from Mecca to mount Ohud, six miles north of Medina. Here they were met by Mohammed at the head of nine hundred and fifty men, whose impetuous attack threw the enemy into confusion, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers and arms. Elated by this advantage, some of the moslems forsook their ranks for the sake of plunder, in consequence of which they lost the field, their prophet was wounded, seventy of the faithful were killed; and if the Koreish had been prompt and courageous to pursue their victory, they might have annihilated the islam.

The following year, the Koreish called in the assistance of their allies, and formed an army twelve thousand strong for the siege and destruction of Medina. The prophet drew a deep trench round the walls of the city, and marched out with three thousand men for its defence; but he was too wise to venture on a general engagement, and contented himself with occasionally annoying the confederates by shooting arrows and slinging stones, and with sowing discord among their chiefs. In this state the two armies remained for upwards of twenty days, when heaven declared in favour of the moslems, by sending a

strong piercing wind, accompanied with rain and hail, which benumbed the limbs of the confederates, extinguished their fires, overturned their tents, and made their horses unmanageable; the angels, surrounding their camp, shouted *Allah acbar, God is great*; and the superstition of the unbelievers put them in dread of the enchantments of the prophet, and caused them to consult their safety by dispersion and flight.

As the fortune and stratagems of Mohammed had now left him nothing to fear from his old enemies, the Koreish, he ascribed his deliverance to Providence, and led his troops into Medina to refresh themselves. But the moslems had scarcely laid down their arms, when the angel Gabriel appeared to the prophet, and asked him whether he had suffered his people to lay aside their armour, when the angels had not laid aside theirs? This interrogation was followed by an order to prepare, instantly, for an expedition against the sons of Koreidha, a tribe of Jews.

The conduct of Mohammed towards this people shews much of the prevaricating versatility of a subtle deceiver. He spoke in the most honourable terms of Abraham and Moses, and at one time directed his followers to turn their faces towards Jerusalem, when they offered up their devotions; it probably appeared to him, specially desirable that his mission should be acknowledged by a people to whom divine revelations had been given aforetime; and it had been well

for their ease and prosperity in this world, if they had promptly professed the islam. But their obstinate perseverance in unbelief drew upon them the implacable vengeance of the prophet.

Having caused proclamation to be made that each man should pray for success, Mohammed fixed the plan of operation, and proceeded to join the angels. The fortress of the Koreidhites was so strong and so well defended, that, notwithstanding its being assaulted at once by visible and invisible warriors, it stood a siege of twenty-five days. The besieged, finding further resistance vain, and hoping to be treated with clemency, surrendered at discretion; their sentence was pronounced by an aged chief, to whose judgment they appealed; and confirmed by the prophet—a sentence which doomed the men to death, the women and children to captivity, and the lands, and flocks, and goods, of the vanquished, to distribution among the victors. Among the spoils were found three hundred cuirasses, five hundred pikes, and a thousand lances, all of which were devoted to the service of the islam.

The Kainoka, another tribe of Jews, dwelt at Medina, on terms of equality with other citizens. The prophet took advantage of an accidental tumult for offering them the stern alternative of conversion or battle. “Alas,” replied the Jews, “we are ignorant of the use of arms, but we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers; why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence?”

The event of the contest was fatal to the Kainoka; many of them were slain, and the remainder, plundered of their riches and arms, were made captives and exiles.

But the chief seat of the Jewish power and independence in Arabia, was the ancient tower of Chaibar, a name of hebrew extraction, signifying *great, strong*. Chaibar was situate to the north east of Medina, in the midst of a fertile territory, abounding with plantations and pasturage. The strong fortifications of Chaibar, made it a desirable place of residence, to the most opulent of the Jews. At the head of two hundred horse, and fourteen hundred foot, attended by one of his wives, Mohammed marched against the castles of Chaibar, which he besieged and captured one by one. In this campaign, the courage of the Moslems was put to a severe test; the prophet himself, Abu Becr, Omar, and Ali, successively signalized their bravery, and the latter procured himself the surname of the *Lion of God*. According to the Arab historians, their youthful hero equalled, at once, the exploits of David and Sampson, the first by slaying, in single combat, a giant of enormous stature, and the last, by tearing from its hinges, the ponderous gate of a fortress, and wielding it in his left hand as a shield.

Mohammed, having reduced the fortifications of Chaibar, easily made himself master of the town; an ample store of corn, dates, oil, and

honey, together with a vast quantity of sheep and oxen, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and Kenana, the chief of the tribe, was put to torture, in the presence of Mohammed, to extort confession and disclosure of concealed riches.

The Jews of Chaibar were reduced to the condition of slaves; but they were tolerated in the exercise of their religion, and permitted to cultivate their lands for their own benefit, and that of the moslems. About the same time, and by the same means, Mohammed brought under his power, several other less considerable cantons of Jews, who also purchased a precarious toleration by the payment of tribute.

As the eyes of the Arabs, from the centre to the extremities of the peninsula, had, from the earliest times, been accustomed to look with veneration on Mecca, as the sacred seat of religion, the conquest of that place could not but appear to the prophet as an important object towards the establishment of the islam. There is great obscurity in the accounts given of his first visit to his native city after he had fled from it as an exile.

It seems doubtful whether he designed to present himself to the Koreish as a peaceful pilgrim, or as a warlike prince; and it is not unlikely that he left this to be determined by circumstances. He had camels chosen and ornamented for sacrifice, but his men were well provided with arms: he however abstained from hostilities on

his march, and any infidels, who accidentally fell into his hands, he treated with clemency and kindness. But when he came to Hadibia, a place near to Mecca, the Koreish came out to oppose his progress, and he prepared to give them battle. The skirmish, however, not being decisive on either side, a negociation was undertaken, in which it was stipulated, that hostilities should cease for ten years; that all persons in Mecca, who had secretly embraced the islam, should have liberty to join themselves to Mohammed; and that any who wished to leave him and return to their houses in Mecca, should be permitted to do so. It was also agreed, that the moslems should have the privilege of visiting the Caaba, and performing their devotions there, provided they came unarmed, and did not continue above three days. The annual resort of pilgrims to Mecca was a custom of high antiquity, and was of the same moment to the subsistence of that place, as making silver shrines to Diana was to Demetrius and his brethren at Ephesus. The adoption of this custom was a piece of shrewdness in Mohammed; for he thereby convinced the Meccans that, in becoming the candidates for paradise, they would not do any material injury to their interests in the present world. Whether the prophet, during his pilgrimage in Mecca, found any opportunity of corrupting the champions of the idols by the distribution of money or promises, is not certain; but it is ren-

dered somewhat suspicious by the well attested fact, that he had scarcely returned to Medina when his standard was joined by Caled, Amrou, and Othman : the first had already distinguished himself as a valiant warrior, the second, as an eloquent ambassador, and the third possessed extensive influence as the intendant, or guardian, of the Caaba.

Mohammed had now gone so far in his career of conquest, that it is hardly to be supposed, that he would be long deterred, by the feeble restraints of a treaty, from making himself master of Mecca. But, fortunately for his reputation, the Koreish themselves supplied him with a pretext, by violating the truce, in less than two years after it was agreed to. The consequences of this rash act were easily foreseen ; and the efforts of Abu Sofian to procure a renewal of the truce were abortive. Orders were immediately given for the necessary preparations, and the moslem army advanced against the strong hold of the idols ; but the Koreish were not aware of the extent of their danger until they saw it by the light of ten thousand fires, kindled in the camp of the enemy. All was consternation within the walls of Mecca ; it was madness to resist such a host of besiegers, and the only way to save their city from destruction, and themselves from the sword, was to surrender, and throw themselves on the clemency of the prophet. While the Koreish hesitated, the moslems were advancing with hasty steps under

several divisions against them ; the haughtiness of Abu Sofian was now humbled in the dust, and he saved the city, by giving up the keys, and his life, by embracing the islam. Caled, in proceeding to the post assigned him, fell in with a party of the idolaters, of whom he slew twenty-eight ; with this exception, Mohammed became master of his native city, without the effusion of blood. He made his public entry at sunrise, surrounded by his principal officers, and walked in procession round the Caaba seven times with much devotion, touching the black stone, with the top of his staff, each time he passed it. The next work of our successful reformer was to purify the Caaba of 360 idols, by whose presence it had been long polluted. It would appear that the Koreish were better provided with idols than with any thing else ; and we cannot but admire the patience and flexibility of mind, with which they beheld the demolition of the objects of their religious veneration. Even the statues of their great patriarchs, Abraham and Ishmael, holding in their hands the arrows of divination, were involved in the promiscuous ruin. This great revolution was effected without resistance ; a general pardon of past offences was announced, from which, a few persons only were excepted ; policy was employed to harmonise the hostile factions of the city ; and a perpetual law was enacted, declaring, that no infidel should be allowed to set his foot on the sacred territory of Mecca.

And from that time to this, none are admissible into the precincts of the sacred shrine, but moslems.

The submission of Mecca was not followed by the immediate submission of the whole peninsula. The abettors of the ancient idolatry despised the easy acquiescence of the Koreish, and united, under the denomination of the confederates of Tayef, to make one desperate struggle in behalf of the gods. The confederates and the moslems met in the vale of Honain, the former, four thousand, the latter, twelve. The moslems marched under the united banners of Mecca and Medina, and were puffed up with a rash confidence in their superior numbers and recent success. The confederates were commanded by Malec, the Nadi-rite, and Doraid, the Joshmite; the latter was above a century old, and his body was reduced to a skeleton by the arid winds of the desert, and the shrivelling power of age; but the energies of his mind and the sinews of his arm were still vigorous. The confederate chiefs shewed their address, in the first place, by forming an ambuscade, and in the second place, by getting possession of the eminences commanding the valley, from which, the archers and slingers discharged their missiles with such effect, that the moslem army was thrown into confusion, which the confederates encreased by a furious charge, sword in hand. The Islam once more trembled on the verge of destruction. Three of the faithful companions of the prophet were slain by his side, as

they defended him from the spears of the enemy; but in the event, his presence of mind, invincible courage, and fortune, changed the aspect of the battle, and snatched the palm of victory.

From Honain, the victorious prophet marched to the siege of Tayef, a strongly fortified city, situate in a fruitful territory, about sixty miles south east of Mecca. From this expedition, the moslems returned with prodigious booty, which Mohammed artfully distributed to confirm the faith, and quicken the zeal, of recent converts. The following year, being the ninth of the He-gira, is called by the Arabs the *year of embassies*, on account of the great number of deputies, who came from all parts of the country, to pay their respects to the apostle, and tender the submission of their respective tribes. In the month *rajeb* of this year, Mohammed marched at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot to Tabuc, half way between Medina and Damascus. The professed object of this expedition was to oppose the forces of Heraclius, emperor of the east; but after ten days march, under the oppressive heat of summer, he halted at the grove and fountain of Tabuc, where he received overtures of submission and alliance from numerous tribes and princes of the north, from Ailah* and Suez, to the Euphrates.

* This is the Elath mentioned twice in the 2d. book of Kings, chap. xiv. 22. and 6.—In the 2d. Chron. xxvi. 2. it is spelt Eloth. It is sometimes called Elana, and was situate

Soon after his return from Tabuc, the prophet set off on pilgrimage to Mecca, whither he was attended by a hundred and fourteen moslems. This is called the *pilgrimage of valediction*, and the ceremonies observed on that occasion are the model according to which the *hadgis* shape their devotions at the present day. Mohammed was now about to close a life of daring enterprise and perilous ambition, and to descend to the darkness and silence of the tomb ; but the star of islam was destined to rise and shine, with encreasing brightness and majesty, among the orbs of the political hemisphere.

The precise time of the prophet's decease has been disputed ; but the opinion best supported, and most generally received, is, that it took place in the 11th year of the Hegira and in the 63d. of his age, corresponding with A. D. 632. A fever of

at the north point of the eastern branch of the Red Sea, thence called the Elanitic gulf. This maritime town was the residence of Yohanna, or John, who repaired to Mohammed while encamped amongst the palm trees of Tabuc, and concluded a treaty with him, by virtue of which, he and his subjects were entitled to the prophet's protection, on the annual payment of 3,000 pieces of gold. The instrument of this treaty, which included the trading inhabitants of the interior parts of Syria and Arabia Felix, is said to be preserved by the people of those regions to this day.—Univer. Hist. Modern part, Vol. I. 197.

Mr. Gibbon mentions in a note the *Diploma securitatis Ailensibus*, as attested by Ahmed Ben Joseph, and the author of *Libri Splendorum*, Vol. V. 197.—See the Appendix to this chapter.

fourteen days, attended, at intervals, with delirium and a most violent headache, put his patience and fortitude to a severe test. When indulged with a respite from pain, he animated his followers to purify the land of their nativity from the remnants of idolatry, to encourage proselytes, by giving them the same privileges with themselves, and to be constant in prayer.

He preserved through his illness the composure and dignity of the character he had assumed ; announced his willingness to make compensation to any one he had injured ; and, raising his languid eyes to heaven, craved the forgiveness of his sins, and expressed his desire to be with his celestial companions. He expired in the chamber, and with his head reclined on the lap, of Ayesha, the most beloved of all his wives.

The death of Mohammed caused great commotion at Medina ; some would not believe that he was dead, or that he could die, and the evidence of sense was disregarded until Abu Becr demonstrated his mortality from the Koran. The next subject of contention was, whether the corpse should be interred at Jerusalem, at Mecca, or at Medina ; and the strife was once more allayed by the address of Abu Becr, who proved, to the satisfaction of the multitude, that a prophet ought to be inhumed in the place where he died. The grave was dug accordingly, and the chamber of Ayesha became the sepulchre of the prophet.

To appreciate fairly the talents and virtues, together with the infirmities and vices, of this extraordinary man, is no easy task. Justice has often been withheld from the founders of religious sects. The obloquy and scorn poured on them by strangers and enemies has generally encreased the enthusiastic admiration of friends and followers; and the collision of opposite passions and interests has caused them to be seen indistinctly as through a mist. To attempt the formation of a religious sect, on a large scale, is a bold experiment, and it is not often that circumstances allow of its being made, with any tolerable prospect of success. To invent or compile a religious code, so as thereby to unite a number of erratic tribes which had never before been united, and on the strength of their union, to establish a mighty empire, was a still more arduous undertaking. But to suppose that Mohammed, when he began his career of fiction and imposture, anticipated all that followed, is to give him credit for more perspicacity and comprehension of mind, than he possessed. It is evident that his abilities were not of such a brilliant order as to silence at once all murmurs, and repress all sneers against his pretensions; but they were such as, in the event, vanquished all opposition, and raised their possessor to a proud eminence above his enemies.

The prophet has left the world a lasting image of himself in the Koran; and in order that we may give a full and faithful picture of the islam,

of the means by which it was established, and of its author, we shall conclude this chapter with some remarks on the Koran, and with an abstract of its characteristic sentiments.

The word *Koran* signifies *book* or *reading*, and is derived from the verb *Karaa*, to *read*. The particle *Al* which is sometimes prefixed, is equivalent to our definite article, and therefore ought to be omitted, when that article is used. The Koran consists of 114 chapters, of very unequal length, which the Arabs call *sura* in the singular, and *sowar* in the plural; and these are thrown together without any regard to the order of time, or the classification of subjects. Like the chaotic elements of the globe, the Koran is without form, sometimes void of sense, and at others, the sense is involved in darkness. Yet *The perspicuous book* is one of the titles which the Koran confers on itself. The contents of the Koran were not obtruded on the prophet all at once, but were given in sundry parcels, just as the emergency of his affairs required. While his weakness rendered it expedient, that he should demean himself peaceably, and make gentle advances by means of persuasion, the angel Gabriel instructed him to do so; but as soon as his followers were sufficiently numerous, to extend the islam, by force of arms, another fragment of the Koran came, breathing war and destruction to the infidels: if a dangerous dispute arose among the moslems, a revelation was at hand to settle it;

and if the prophet was desirous of adding a beautiful woman to his harem, Gabriel appeared with a peremptory mandate which must be instantly obeyed. By reading and observation, by travelling and conversing with travellers, Mohammed acquired in early life a large fund of miscellaneous knowledge; to this he added a selection of historical anecdotes together with a copious stock of fables, and, applying the whole to the establishment of the islam, ascribed it to inspiration.

He who presumes to personate the Deity, ought to rise far above the ordinary limits of human excellence. But it is easy to see how the Koran might have been made more worthy of that high character which it assumes, without being touched off by any thing more than a mortal hand. It is not strange, however, that the prophet should find employment of more immediate importance, than obliterating repetitions, and improving the style and method of the Koran.

In the east, the Koran has always been allowed the praise of an elegant composition;* but a very

* This reputation it retains to the present hour. The late Mr. Henry Martyn, asked a learned Mohammedan, for the proofs of his religion. His first argument was *the eloquence of the Koran*. Mr. M. in reply, brought forward a passage or two, containing sentiments manifestly false and foolish; on which his opponent flourished a good deal, and concluded by saying, that Mr. M. must wait until he understood Persian better, and had read their logic.—While Mr. M. was engaged at Shiraz, in a translation of the new Testament, into Persian, Mirza Ibraheem, the chief preceptor of the Moollahs, com-

different judgment will be pronounced, if its merits are appreciated by the rules of European criticism. Instances may be selected of bold figures, and of full, easy, and harmonious periods ; but if the whole had been equal to the happiest parts, it would still admit of no comparison with the productions of Homer and Demosthenes, or of Cicero and Virgil.

As we excuse parents for overrating the accomplishments of their children, so we ought to pardon an author for thinking too highly of the merits of his works ; but the vanity of Mohammed transgressed all the bounds of modesty and moderation, when he boldly challenged every creature between himself and the throne of God, to equal the beauties of a single page. If the Koran is such a prodigy of whatever is elegant and exquisite in the art of invention and writing, as to supersede the necessity of all other miracles, and to prove irrefragably its divine original, to what inspiration should the imperishable monuments of Greek, Roman, and Irish genius be ascribed ?

It is impossible to read the Koran without perceiving that Mohammed had to force his way

posed and addressed to him, an elaborate defence of Mohammedism, which he concluded in these words ;—" Thus behold, then, O thou that art wise, and consider with the eye of justice, since thou hast no excuse to offer to God. Thou hast wished to see the truth of miracles. *We desire you to look at the great Koran ; that is an everlasting miracle.*"

Martyn's Memoirs, 297, 387.

through extreme difficulties. As he urged his cause, he saw that there was no alternative between being exalted and obeyed as a prophet, or discarded and condemned as an impostor. In this situation of affairs, he often sacrificed his judgment of what was right, to his apprehension of what might be useful. Success was every thing, and he sought it by all means. For this purpose he invented his nocturnal excursion through the seven heavens, the visits he received from Gabriel, and the apostolical powers with which he was invested ; for this purpose, also, he rehearsed the judgments which fell upon the Jews for disobeying their prophets, and reiterated the awful doom of the Adites and Thamudites, who were overwhelmed with destruction for refusing to forsake their idols. The doctrines and the morals, the fables and the histories, the flights of rhetoric and the artifices of controversy, are all directed to the establishment of the prophetic and princely authority of Mohammed. Thus, though the Koran shews but little intellectual wealth, and is destitute of logic, order, and connection, it is easy enough to understand its design.

The passage of the Koran most admired by the moslems, who often recite it in their devotions, is the following in the 2d. chapter. “ God ! there is no God but he ; the living, the self-subsisting ; neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him : to him belongeth whatsoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him but through

his good pleasure ? he knoweth that which is past and that which is to come. His throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the preservation of both is to him no burden. He is the high, the mighty." In some instances, the Koran inculcates good morals on the strength of pungent motives. For example ;—" Paradise is prepared for the godly, who bridle their anger and forgive men ; for God loveth the beneficent." " He who defraudeth another shall appear at the day of judgment with the stolen article hanging about his neck."* " Unto those who treasure up gold and

* According to this, Mohammed and his early followers will be beasts of burden, at the great audit. They will be laden with the spoils of innumerable cities and provinces.

In the next chapter we shall have to treat of the establishment of Mohammedism in Spain. A. D. 759, Abdoulrahman became master of the Moslem territories, in the south of the Peninsula, and fixed his residence in Cordova. Three miles from this city he built the beautiful and delicious town of Zehra, in honour of his beloved Sultana, and called it by her name. The descendants of Abdoulrahman added to the magnificence of this luxurious retreat. A poor woman at Zehra, possessed a small spot of ground, contiguous to the royal palace. Alkahem, grandson to the founder of Zehra, wishing to extend his gardens, made proposals to the old woman for her land ; but she continuing deaf to every argument employed, to induce her to part with the inheritance of her ancestors, the head gardener took it by force. The woman, in an agony of rage and despair, flew to Cordova, to implore the succour of Ebn Bechir, the chief Cadi of the city. This magistrate mounted his ass, took with him a large sack, and presented himself before Alkahem, who was then sitting in a magnificent pavillion on the very ground in question. The arrival of the Cadi, and the appearance of the

silver, and employ them not, for the advancement of God's true religion, denounce a grievous punishment; on the day of judgment, their treasures shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads, and their sides, and their backs, shall be stigmatized therewith." "He who concealeth the knowledge which God hath given him, God shall put on him a bridle of fire on the day of the resurrection."*

Considering how wretched was the condition of the Arabs in the time of ignorance, it may be hoped that the Mohammedan reformation was attended with some beneficial effects. The Koran often enforces prayer, alms, abstinence, and lustrations; and as the facilities for cleanliness were few, a powerful motive is supplied for making the best use of them, by teaching that *God loveth the clean*. The pagan Arabs, on some occasions,

sack surprised the sultan. Ebn Bechir having prostrated himself, entreated the prince to allow him to fill his sack with some of the earth they were then upon. This request being granted, and the bag filled, the Cadi desired him to help him to lift it on the ass. The Sultan consented; but upon putting his shoulders to it, could not help complaining of the weight of the load. *Sir*, replied the Cadi, *this bag, which you find so heavy, contains but a small portion of the earth which you have unjustly taken from a poor woman; how then do you expect to be able, at the day of judgment, to support the weight of the whole field, which you have not scrupled to usurp!* The Sultan frankly acknowledged his fault, and ordered the land to be restored to the woman with whatever had been erected on it.

* Sale's Koran, iii. and ix. chapters, pages 75, 80, 85, 226. Vol. I.

made their circuits round the Caaba in a state of nakedness; the Koran enjoins the use of decent apparel at every place of worship.* They sometimes had recourse to human sacrifices, to which cruel custom, the prophet put an end.

The following is a specimen of the Moham-
medan cosmogony, according to the Koran;
“ Do not the unbelievers know that the heavens
and the earth were solid, and we clave the same
in sunder, and made every living creature of
water? Will they not therefore believe? And we
placed stable mountains on the earth, lest it
should move with them; and we made broad
passages between them for paths, that they might
be directed in their journey: and we made the
heaven a roof well supported.” Thus the 21st
chap.; the 41st tells us that God created the
earth in two days. “ Then he set his mind to
the creation of heaven; and it was smoke: and
he said to it and to the earth, Come, either obe-
diently, or against your will. They answered,
we come, obedient to thy command. And he
formed them into seven heavens, in two days;
and revealed unto every heaven its office. And
we adorned the lower heaven with lights, and
placed therein a guard of angels.”

The 27th chapter, entitled “ *The Ant*,” gives
the following account of an expedition of the
wise King of Israel:—“ Solomon was David’s
heir; and he said, O men we have been taught the

* Sale’s Koran, Vol. I. 240, 176.

speech of birds, and have all things bestowed upon us: this is manifest excellence. And his armies were gathered together unto Solomon, consisting of genii, and men, and birds; and they were led in distinct bands, until they were come into the valley of ants. And an ant, seeing the hosts approaching, said, O ants, enter ye into your habitations, lest Solomon and his hosts tread you under foot, and perceive it not. And Solomon smiled, laughing at her words, and said, O Lord excite me, that I may be thankful for thy favour.—And he viewed the birds, and said, what is the reason that I see not the lapwing? Is she absent? Verily I will chastise her with a severe chastisement; or I will put her to death; unless she bring me a just excuse. And she tarried not long before she presented herself unto Solomon, and said, I have viewed a country which thou hast not viewed; and I come unto thee from Saba, with a certain piece of news. I found a woman to reign over them, who is provided with every thing requisite for a prince, and hath a magnificent throne.” This was Balkis, queen of Saba, or Sheba, to whom the lapwing was dispatched with a letter.

The apostolical mission of Mohammed, was not limited to flesh and blood; he was authorised to make proselytes of fairies and genii also. The 72d. chapter, entitled *The Genii*, states that it was revealed to the prophet, that a company of genii, having attentively heard him reading the

Koran, said, "Verily we have heard an admirable discourse." These amiable converts present a striking contrast to the obstinate Meccans, who had the impudence to say, that the Koran was no other than a forgery, and that the stories of Ad and Thamud, who were destroyed for worshipping the gods of their ancestors, were simply fables of the ancients. This freedom of speech was repaid with interest, by the prophet, who introduced the Almighty as upbraiding them for their stupid obstinacy, and impious unbelief. But in the event, Mohammed succeeded much better with the Arabs of the towns, than with those of the desert. Some of the latter, even to the present day, maintain a noble indifference to the superstition which has enslaved their country. "They make no difficulty in saying, that the religion of Mohammed was not made for them; for, say they, *How shall we make ablutions who have no water? How can we bestow alms who are not rich? Why should we fast in the Ramadan, since the whole year is with us one continual fast? and what necessity is there to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, if God be present every where.**

It has been said, that the glowing picture of a sensual paradise, which Mohammed presented to the fervid imaginations of the Arabs, was one great lure to the adoption of the islam. Certain it is, that the several ingredients in the promised

* Volney's Travels, Vol. I. 256. Dublin Ed.

bliss were well chosen to make a delicious compound, especially to an oriental palate.

“ This is the description of paradise which is promised to the pious. It is watered by rivers ; its food is perpetual, and its shade also.” “ Therein are rivers of incorruptible water ; and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changeth not ; and rivers of wine, pleasant unto those who drink ; and rivers of clarified honey.” “ For him who dreadeth the tribunal of his Lord are prepared two gardens, planted with shady trees. In each of these shall be two fountains flowing. In each of them shall there be of every fruit two kinds. They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof shall be of thick silk, interwoven with gold ; and the fruit of the gardens shall be at hand to gather. Therein shall receive them beauteous damsels, chaste, and modest, having complexions like rubies and pearls.”*

It is curious to observe what different ideas have been formed, by people variously circumstanced, of things invisible and future. The savages of Greenland imagine that heaven is below the earth ; that none will be admitted there but such as have nobly braved the perils of the boreal ocean and been assiduous and expert in chasing and killing whales, seals, and morses ; that there will be a calm sky and perpetual sunshine ; and that the blessed inhabitants will be feasted with abun-

* Koran, chap. xiii. 47. 15.

dance of fish, wild-fowl, reindeer, and oil. Such is the subterranean elysium of the Greenlanders.

The dainties of Mohammed's paradise are of a different description, and are in a special manner prepared for those who lose their lives fighting for the islam. If the prophet needed inspiration any where, it was in those parts of the Koran in which he undertook to reveal the world to come. In treating on this subject, it might be supposed that he would speak of things far transcending whatever at any time came under the scrutiny of the bodily senses, and exceeding whatever could be suggested by unassisted reason and imagination. But it is easy to see under what kind of inspiration Mohammed drew his picture of the felicity awaiting the faithful.

On the whole, the Koran is a decisive witness against the virtue of Mohammed; for, after having put the best construction on such parts as are doubtful, it presents him in the full dimensions of an impostor. This is one of the foulest and most infamous appellations that any man can merit, and I suppose it was never given with more justice than to the author of the Koran. That millions of people, and, among these, many of the shrewdest, should still be duped by such an impudent delusion, is a cogent proof, that in the choice of a religion, the major part of mankind are less obsequious to truth and reason than to less honourable guides.

Perhaps the diffuseness of this account of the rise and early progress of the islam requires an apology. The Mohammedans, impelled by the impetus of their religion, subdued kingdoms and subverted churches; and though toleration and justice have sometimes been respected under the crescent, yet, in the main, Mohammedan princes have been persecutors. Now, as it is disagreeable to address an audience under an apprehension that you are not understood, so it is, to narrate the exploits of any people, without giving such an analysis of their principles, and designs, and circumstances, as may enable, even an unlearned reader, to make his own reflections. Moreover, this chapter is an introduction to a new branch of History, replete with great events, and one which displays human nature under an aspect in which it is not often seen. Mohammedism presents the astonishing spectacle of a dominion, rising, with unprecedented rapidity, among a people who had ever been disunited, and who were still barbarous, under the daring pretence of divine authority;—a dominion, which after the lapse, and the vicissitudes, of twelve hundred years, still possesses many of the fairest provinces of the habitable globe. At the present hour, it stretches, in a direct line, from the atlantic ocean to the borders of China, and though great numbers of christians, jews, and idolaters, are permitted to purchase the privilege of breathing the breath of life under its yoke, it claims

the whole earth for its inheritance, and millions of its votaries are firmly persuaded that it is the only true and perfect religion.

There is another point of view in which I would hope that this chapter may be of some service.

The christian is required to prove all things, and to be ready to give to him that asks, a reason of the hope that is in him. Our belief, even in christianity, is to be governed, not by caprice and custom, but by evidence; and to judge accurately and satisfactorily of the evidence of the christian religion, at the present time, it is desirable to be acquainted with judaism, which it superseded, and Mohammedism, by which it has been opposed. Moreover, some knowledge on this subject is necessary, for the understanding of the *lively oracles*; for in them are clear and striking descriptions of the genius of this delusion, and of the time and circumstances of its rise, and of its desolating advances among the nations.*

* Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, though concise, is elaborate. The materials are derived from authentic sources, the style is plain and sometimes coarse, and the special object of the work is to illustrate the nature of imposture. This piece of biography would be more agreeable to modern taste, if pruned of some very homely phrases, such as "most an end," "what he was driving at," "gone together by the ears," "to salve the matter," &c. It was published in 1697.

Sale's *Koran*, with notes and a preliminary dissertation, is an excellent authority on Mohammedism. Mr. Sale flourished in the latter part of the 17th, and early part of the 18th century. Very little is known concerning him at the present time, except

Having digressed thus largely, though it is hoped, not impertinently, in remarks on the elements, the character, and the early progress, of the islam, we shall resume the general series of events, in the beginning of the next chapter, where we left it at the close of the last. Mr. Hallam has observed that, "The appearance of Mohammed, and the conquests of his disciples, pre-

that he was a very learned man, and a zealous promoter of literature. He was an active member of a society in London, consisting of a number of noblemen and gentlemen, the object of which was the encouragement of learning, by printing and publishing, at their own expense, such works as they thought adapted to this end. Mr. Sale was one of the principal writers of the first series of the Universal History. He suggested the plan of the work, and wrote the piece on cosmogony, and the patriarchal history immediately following in the 1st Vol. The two chapters on the early state of the Arabs, in the 17th Vol.; together with the account of the African nations, and of the Turks, Tartars, Moguls, Indians, and Chinese, were written by Mr. Swinton. (Month. Rev. July, 1787.)

The Life of Mohammed, in the second series of the Universal History, is learned and elaborate enough; but it is written with so little elegance and so much prolixity, that few will read it for profit, and fewer still for pleasure. In this performance, the materials of which are drawn chiefly from oriental writers, both Prideaux and Sale are criticised and corrected; but it is egregiously dull, even when finding fault. Mr. Bayle, in his Critical and Historical Dictionary, discusses, with his usual acuteness, several questions relative to Mohammed and the artifices by which he obtained the fame of inspiration; but, on the whole, this article is extremely vague and unsatisfactory, and, as Mr. Gibbon observes, "shews how indifferently wit and philosophy supply the place of genuine information."

sent an epoch in the history of Asia, still more important and more definite than the subversion of the Roman empire in Europe ; and hence the boundary line between the ancient and modern divisions of Byzantine history will intersect the reign of Heraclius. That prince may be said to have stood on the verge of both hemispheres of time, whose youth was crowned with the last victories over the successors of Artaxerxes, and whose age was clouded by the first calamities of Mohammedan invasion.”*

* Europe in the middle ages, Vol. II. 162.

APPENDIX

TO THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.

Mohammed's diploma of toleration, referred to at page 121.

THE authenticity of this document has been much disputed. They who reject it, suppose that it was forged at an early period by the monks of Syria and Arabia, in order to soften the rigours of that persecution which they had some reason to expect. The chief argument against the genuineness of this instrument is *That the style is very different from that of the Koran.* On the other hand, it is urged, that the difference of style proves nothing, as it is not necessary to suppose, that Mohammed either penned or dictated the several deeds which he sanctioned by his authority. Even if it is conceded that the christians themselves suggested the several particulars of the covenant, the concession is by no means subversive of its authenticity. Moreover, the stipulations of the diploma, are altogether consonant with the professions of Mohammed during the first years of his mission, and it is not in the least improbable that the subtle impostor should endeavour to strengthen his cause, by allaying the fears, and conciliating the friendship of the christians. Further, the genuineness of this diploma is attested by the concurrence of the Mohammedans themselves.

Doctor Richard Pococke, who published his "Description of the East," in 1743, speaks of this diploma, a copy of which he gives, translated from the modern Greek. It is divided into seventeen short chapters, and is for substance the same as the one which follows. The monks of the convent of St. Catherine, related to Dr. Pococke the tradition, that Mohammed visited

their predecessors ; that they entertained him honourably, and that he granted to them, and to christians in general, this patent of privileges. Mount Sinai abounds with convents, but the principal of these is St. Catherine's which belongs to the Greek church. This is a spacious but irregular building, composed of stone, granite, and brick, and the interior is ornamented with costly marbles and rich mosaic ; nor are there wanting reliques, the chief of which are the skull and left hand of St. Catherine, adorned with gold-rings and pearls. To defend their sacred treasure against the rapacity of the Arabs, the holy fathers of St. Catherine have had the wisdom to deny themselves the privilege of a door, in the lieu of which they use a basket and pulley. When Dr. Pococke visited this place, he was drawn up by this machine to a window about thirty feet high, at which he was hospitably received by the deputy of the archbishop and the chief persons of the monastery.——Pococke's Description of the East, Vol. I, 142, 149, 264, 268.

This monastery was visited in 1805 by Mr. Salamé, a native of Alexandria, and interpreter of the oriental languages in Lord Exmouth's expedition against Algiers. This gentleman's description of the convent of Mount Sinai is to much the same effect as the one already given. He notices however the following additional circumstances viz. that the monks pay but a very trifling sum for their lands ; that they have many privileges granted by the Grand Signor ; that they pay no duty on their wines, nor upon any other commodities, at any custom-house in the Turkish dominions ; that they are quite independent ; that if they have any thing to do with the Grand Signor, they do it directly, through the medium of their representative at Constantinople ; and that they have an immense income from parts of the world to which they send missionaries, and where they have establishments.

Mr. Salamé states further, that while at Cairo he had the pleasure of being acquainted with a missionary of the society of these monks, who was so kind, on his leaving Cairo for Suez, to favour him with a letter of recommendation to the president of their monastery of Mount Sinai. When Mr. S. had delivered his letter of introduction to the president, his curiosity prompted him to ask some questions, in answer to which, his host explained to him, the circumstances of the convent, and shewed him the original decree of Mohammed, written in Arabic, on a goat skin, in a very elegant and pure style. When Mr. S. requested permission to take a copy, some objections were made, but in the issue the request was granted, and an accurate copy taken, of which, the subjoined is a literal translation.

“ Mohammed, missionary of God, messenger and preacher to all mankind, according to the heavenly instructions with which he was charged, has written the present, to be, by the solemnities of God, as a sacred decree, to legalize the christian religion in the eastern and western extremities of the earth, in its nearest and farthest places, in its known and unknown parts, and amongst its civilized and uncivilized inhabitants:—A document given to them, (the christians,) as a promise to be attended to, and as a public register; by which he commands his equity to be exalted [his law to be considered sacred] and its preservation to be maintained. Whoever, therefore, is attached to Mohammedism, and is not regardless of the authority of this decree, that shall abuse, or object, as an infidel, to the testament herein contained, and violate what I have ordered hereby, shall be counted as a violator of God’s testament, a transgressor of his commandments, and slighter of his

faith :—Whosoever he may be, king, or prince, or any other person of the faithful.

“ I have thus engaged myself, by my giving them this mandate, containing the following promises and stipulations, that they may have the right to claim them of me, and from all my faithful relations or followers, and which I have bestowed upon them by God’s testament and pact ; I have placed them under the protection of his prophets, apostles, saints, and favourites of the faithful Mohammedans, of former ages, and of those that are to come ; and my own protection and stipulations are to be considered as primary ; to preserve their laws of justice in all my provinces ; to protect them with my horsemen, officers and faithful followers, from every foe, whether they be near or at a distance, besieged or free ; to secure them, and defend their churches and places of worship, and the residences of their monks, and places of pilgrimage, wherever they may be, or are found ; in a mountain or valley, in a grotto or hut, in a meadow or field, in a village or town ; to guard their religion and wealth, wherever they may be, or are found : on land or at sea, in the east or west ; in the same manner by which I would guard myself, my own end [eternal salvation] and my nation, the faithful Mohammedans ; to place them under my security against all injury, mischief, violence, and persecution ; and, while I am of authority over them, I would support and shelter them, with my own person, and my attendants, followers, and the people of my nation, against every enemy which might afflict me and them together. I therefore bind myself to protect and preserve them from every hurtful action,—so that it shall not hurt them without first reaching my friends, who are to repel it.—I bind myself to prevent imposition on them, by the charging of taxes, or loans, which shall not be

more than what they can afford; and that they shall not be forced or compelled on this subject. No bishop shall be driven out of his bishopric, no christian shall be forced to reject his religion, no monk shall be turned out of his monastery, no pilgrim shall be detained from his pilgrimage, no hermit shall be molested in his cell, and none of their churches shall be pulled down for the sake of building mosques or houses for the Mohammedans—whoever shall do so, will violate God's testament, and betray his faith, and become disobedient to the apostle of God. None of the bishops or priests shall be charged with the value of any thing, unless they are willing; no tribute shall be exacted from the great merchants, or those who possess plenty of wealth; nor from the divers [*for pearls,*] or those who explore the mines of jewels, gold, and silver.—Not more than twelve *darhems* shall be exacted, as *capitation-tax*, from a christian once in every year, if they are residents and local inhabitants of the place; no capitation or land taxes shall be exacted from a traveller or passenger, who is not known to be one of the local inhabitants of the country; but those, who are landholders justly have to pay the due taxes to the king, as others do, provided there shall be no imposition or overcharging upon them, but only what they can afford; and none of those who would try to cultivate the land slightly, for the improvement of its fertility and productions, shall be unjustly intreated or oppressed to pay a limited tax as the others [*landholders*].—No christian shall be asked to sally forth with the Mohammedan troops, to oppose their enemy, or to keep watch over the neighbourhood, for a tributary person has nothing to do in war concerns; and they are subdued to be tributaries that they may not be troubled, and that the Mohammedans may defend and protect them.—They are not compelled to

come into the field together with the Mohammedans, with arms and horses, unless they are willing; and whosoever will become a volunteer on such occasion, his service shall be acknowledged and rewarded with gratitude.—There shall be no enforcement or compulsion used by any Mohammedan upon a christian; but on the contrary, they shall be challenged with the utmost modesty, and embraced by the wings of mercy; and they shall be sheltered from every mischief and injury, wherever they are, or may be found. If any of the christians shall be guilty of a crime, or commit a fault, the Mohammedans are to defend his cause, and to guard him from insolence, and, at the same time, to forbid him from misbehaving; to intercede for the restoration of peace between him and his adversary, or to put an end to the quarrel by making amends.—They (the christians) are not to be abandoned or rejected,—nay, I have given them the law of God, that they may have and enjoy the same privileges that the Mohammedans have, and that the Mohammedans may observe the rights that the christians are entitled to, in virtue of this decree, which must be regarded, and its sanctity upheld.—In conformity to this sacred mandate, they are entitled to be protected from every injury, and to be introduced into every society, so that the Mohammedans may be their protectors on any occasion.

“With regard to marriage with the Mohammedans, they (the christians) shall not be thereunto compelled, by unjust force or oppression; and the parents of the girl, shall not be forced to marry her to a Mohammedan, unless they like him and wish to have him;—they shall not be injured if they refuse her to the betrother, or reject the suitor himself; and, therefore, such marriage shall not take place unless they are willing and fully inclined thereunto.—When a christian woman be-

comes wife to a Mohammedan, he must gratify her inclination concerning her own religion, and shall not forbid her from exercising it, nor from being instructed by the chiefs of her faith; he shall not compel her to reject her religion, nor threaten her with divorce on that account;—if he shall do so, he will disobey God's commands, and become rebellious against the ordinances of the apostle of God; and shall be counted as faithless towards the divine majesty.

“ If the christians should become in want of assistance, for repairing their churches or hermitages, or for any thing concerning their religion, the Mohammedans are to support and favour them;—(*And you are not to consider this as a participation in their religion, but as mere assistance to their helplessness, and compliance with the ordinances of the apostle of God, which are made in their favour by the authority of God and of his apostle.*)—In time of war, or while the Mohammedans are in a state of hostility with their enemies, no christian shall be hated or disdained on account of his being resident amongst them;—and whoever shall thus treat a christian shall be accounted unjust, and obstinate towards the apostle of God, and disobedient to his will.

“ These are the terms granted by Mohammed, apostle of God, to the christian nation. And, at the same time, he has stipulated with them on their faith and religion, certain conditions, by which they are bound for the fulfilment of their engagement with him: That no christian shall be an adversary to the Mohammedans, nor unite himself, either publicly or secretly, with any of their enemies, nor receive, or give refuge, at his house or place of worship, to an enemy of the Mohammedans; he shall not give any succour, by lending arms, horses, or men to an enemy, or by advancing him any loan of money; he shall not have any corres-

pondence or communication with the enemy, unless he (the enemy) be at a village or city where the christians are compelled so to do for their own safety or protection, or for the defence of their religion.

“ That they shall not forbid any of the Mohammedans from resting or encamping three days and three nights, with their animals and suite, at any spot where they may be found ; and that they shall assign them places for their maintenance without any restraint, and keep off all injury or molestation from them.

“ And that if circumstances should need to conceal a Mohammedan at any house of the christians, they are to shelter him and receive him within their dwellings, in the safest place assigned for the security of their own lives, so that they may be partners of what should happen to him while he is under their roofs. They shall not acquaint the enemy with any low or weak state of the Mohammedans ; and they shall not fail in performing the duties in which they are bound towards them, according to this document. Therefore, whoever of the christians shall disregard or reject any of these stipulations, which are ratified after the will of the high priests, clergymen, and the christians at large, shall be expelled from the privileges that are bestowed upon them in pursuance of this sacred testament, which was sanctioned by the divine authority, after the faithful promise for the fulfilment of its contents, by the apostle of God and by his people, wherever they are or may be found ; thus, the apostle of God binds himself to fulfil what he promised and has assigned herein to the christian nation, and, accordingly, the Mohammedans are bound to uphold and to consider this as sacred, and to eternalise its force to the last moment of this world.

“ Signed and sanctioned agreeably to the divine ordinances, by the full stamp of the right hand of Mohammed, apostle and missionary of God.”

CHAPTER IX.

History of Intolerance, from the reign of Heraclius, to the restoration of the empire of the west, under Charlemagne.

THE flowing tide of intolerance is now swollen by the influx of a new stream. It seemed doubtful for a while whether this would not be divided and absorbed among the burning sands of the wilderness; but, from an inconsiderable and precarious rivulet, it now presents itself a mighty river, ready to inundate Europe and Asia.

Immediately after the interment of the prophet, dissension arose about the election of a successor. And while the natives of Mecca and Medina were contending with each other, several of the distant tribes revolted and resumed their hereditary independence. The dangerous consequences of being without a chief, and of protracting scenes of discord, soon became apparent to all, and Abu Becr was chosen. He was an old man, thin and tall in person, swarthy in complexion, of great activity and temperance, and a contemner of riches and pomp. The establishment of this venerable chief consisted of a single camel and a black slave; and out of the trifling pittance appropriated to his domestic expences, he made distributions each Friday, first to the most worthy, and secondly to the most indigent of the moslems.

The first calif was prompt in marshalling the faithful, under the command of valiant generals, for the reduction of the disaffected, and the extension of conquest. Caled signalized his impetuous courage against such as had refused to pay the *Zecat* or tribute, whom he soon reclaimed, by the terror of his arms, from their apostacy. He was then sent against Moseilam, the prophet of Yemana, who had composed a Koran, and laid the basis of a kingdom during the lifetime of Moham-med; he was now become formidable, not only in the loftiness of his pretensions, but also in the number of his adherents; but he and ten thousand of his followers were slain by the moslems under the command of Caled.

All was now in readiness for undertaking the subjugation of surrounding countries; and the calif summoned the various tribes of the towns and the deserts, both near and remote, to carry into effect the intentions of the prophet and the behests of heaven, in making the islam the religion of the world. Medina was the place of rendezvous to which the ardent adventurers repaired without delay. The chief ascended an eminence to take a view of the army and pray for them. He then walked with them a short distance and took his leave in a brief address:—"Be sure not to oppress your own people, and take care to do that which is right. When you meet your enemies, quit yourselves like men; and if you get the victory, kill no little children, nor old people;

destroy no palm trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Injure no cattle, except such as you kill to eat. When you make a covenant, stand to it, and be as good as your word."

The latter part of the speech is too obscure to deserve transcribing. It relates to the treatment of monks, and appears to make a distinction between them, requiring that some should be spared and protected, while the skulls of others should be cloven.

Having finished his address, the calif left the army to pursue their march towards Syria, and returned to preach and pray before the sepulchre of the prophet.

It is a piece of self-denial to forbear dilating on so rare a spectacle as that of a parcel of naked, or, at best, ragged, Arabs, setting off on the daring and perilous enterprise of subduing mighty empires, which had been accustomed for a series of ages to wage war with each other. But we have already given a copious account of the establishment of the Saracen power, which is now about to change the boundaries of kingdoms and the aspect of the world. Those periods in which new agents make their appearance, and in which a new series of events is introduced, require minute and careful attention from those who would contemplate human nature, as reflected in the faithful mirror of history.

For the future, we shall be more concise on the affairs of the moslems; but we shall often meet

with them, in regions remote from each other, displaying the sanguinary genius of their faith, and making havoc of the infidels.

Heraclius, emperor of the east, was by no means destitute of the qualities becoming a prince. In the middle of his reign, he gained many advantages against Chosroes, emperor of Persia.

This haughty disciple of Zoroaster assigned as the reason of his implacable hostility to the christians, their worshipping Christ, in the room of offering their adorations to the sun. The various branches of the christian profession were, at this time, much distracted by the rival pretensions of the bishop of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople; and Heraclius interfered more with the subtleties of the monothelite and monophysite controversies than became his station. He also disgraced himself by compelling great numbers of Jews to be baptized and profess the christian religion.

Abu Becr enjoyed his elevation to the dignity of calif two years only; but in this short period, the moslems made fearful inroads on the territories of their neighbours. They triumphed over the effeminate pride of the Persians on the plain of Cadesia; in this engagement, the Arabs acknowledge to have lost seven thousand five hundred men; yet the victory was complete and the spoil immense. The battle of Cadesia was followed by the submission of the rich province of Irak; and the foundations of Bassora were

laid near the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, an enterprise which shews that these marauders had some notion of the advantages to be derived from commerce. In this short period too the moslems abridged the dominions of the Grecian emperor by the conquest of Bosra and Damascus. Prior to the siege of Damascus they engaged the forces of Heraclius, to the number of seventy thousand, in the plain of Aiznadin, and, if we may believe them, out of the seventy, they left fifty thousand dead on the field. Here, too, the naked savages were enriched with immense booty; such as banners and crosses of gold and silver, ornamented with gems and precious stones, and an infinitude of robes and arms.

Abu Becr died on the day that Damascus surrendered, and was succeeded in the califate by Omar. From the banks of the Parphar and the ancient capital of Syria, the victorious Saracens extended their conquests to Abyla,* Heliopolis,

* At Abyla lived a hermit eminent for learning, piety, and austerity of life. To this holy man, resorted both old and young, rich and poor, to crave his blessing and receive his instructions. Every easter, a fair was held in the vicinity of the hermitage where silks and sattins, plate and jewels, with costly furniture and ornaments of all sorts, were exposed for sale. Daily experience shews that the stimulus of want and the love of gain will urge men into situations of danger; yet one would think, that all the country within fifty miles of the recent conquests of the Saracens must have been thrown into such consternation by the progress of their arms, as would interfere with the arrangements of trade. Abyla, however, was within *thirty*

and Emesa. While encamped at Emesa, they received the alarming news, that the imperial forces, to the number of eighty thousand, were assembling from Europe and Asia, to make a final effort, and overwhelm them.

A council of war was called, and the commanders of the faithful resolved to retreat to a cool and well watered spot nearer to the confines of their own country, where the Yermuk, an obscure river, is formed by the springs of mount Hermon, and where they would be in the way of receiving reinforcements from Medina. Here the moslem army waited the approach of the Greeks. Caled

miles of Damascus, yet the concourse of the people amounted to upwards of fifteen thousand, among which was a princess who had come to receive the sacrament from the hands of the hermit prior to the celebration of her nuptials. The sun had risen, the booths and stalls were erected, the merchants had begun their traffic, and the hermit his sermon, when the Saracens made their appearance; a bloody conflict ensued, which lasted till the going down of the sun, when, Caled arriving with a reinforcement of cavalry, the assailants became masters of every thing except the poor old hermit. A parting dialogue between Caled and the hermit is worth preserving. "What would you have?" said the latter, "begone about your business, and assure yourself that God's vengeance will light on your head for spilling the blood of so many christians." "How can that be," replied Caled, "when God has commanded us to fight with you and kill you? And if the apostle of God (of blessed memory) had not commanded us to let such men as you alone, you should not have escaped any more than the rest, but I would have put you to a most cruel death."—*Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. I. 168.*

led on the van and directed the evolutions of the faithful; he placed an old chief with a troop of women in the rear; and to excite the courage and fanaticism of his soldiers, told them, that paradise was before them, and the devil and hell-fire in their rear. The contest was extremely obstinate and bloody; the moslems thrice retreated, and were as often driven back on the spears and swords of the enemy, by the reproaches and blows of the women; in the event, Victory declared for the Arabs, and without believing their own account of the tens of thousands who fell before their invincible sabres and arrows, we may form a rational opinion of the loss of the vanquished, by the acknowledgment of the victors, that upwards of four thousand of their brethren remained dead on the field.

The capture of Jerusalem was the next great object of Saracenic ambition and rapacity. This ancient and renowned city has experienced many vicissitudes, and been subject to a variety of masters. After its desolation by Titus Vespasian it remained in ruins till the reign of Ælius Adrianus, who rebuilt its walls, restored its fortifications, and in order to insult the Jews, adorned it with a temple to Jupiter, and carved images of swine on its gates. From this emperor it was called Ælia. Under the reigns of christian emperors, it was enlarged and beautified by the piety and munificence of imperial ladies. Jerusalem had recovered some of its ancient glory

when it was taken by Chosroes, the Persian, soon after which, it was restored to the empire by Heraclius. Had not this emperor been now sinking under the decrepitude of years, and his subjects languishing under the emasculating softness of luxury and superstition, he might easily have made it an impregnable barrier to the fanatical incursions of the moslems.* As it was, the Jerusalemites resisted the operations of their besiegers for four months, during which, not a day passed without a skirmish. When Abu Obeidah invested the city, he addressed a summons to the inhabitants in the usual stile:—"To the commanders of

* A little adroitness and presence of mind would have enabled him to derive great facilities from a happy incident. Under the reign of Constantine, a piece of wood was found among some rubbish in Jerusalem, which was supposed to be the cross on which Christ suffered. Common sense is at a loss to say why the instrument of such a crime should have more virtue in it than any other piece of timber. But according to the notions, of that age, it was a precious treasure, and a church was erected on the spot where it was found. Of this treasure, Chosroes despoiled Jerusalem, put monks and nuns to death by thousands, and carried away with him consecrated vessels without number. Heraclius laid aside his imperial robes and his natural supineness, put on his armour and invaded the dominions of his enemy, recovered the sacred trophy and brought it back to Jerusalem. The true cross, according to the belief of the church, was actually in Jerusalem at the time it was besieged by the Saracens. Why did not Heraclius avail himself of this belief to kindle the martial enthusiasm of his subjects, and stop the progress of Saracenic devastation, by making Jerusalem the theatre of an invincible crusade?—*Fleury, Tome viii. 233, 286.*

the people of Ælia. *Health and happiness to every one that follows the right way.* We require you to testify that there is but one God, and that Mohammed is the apostle of God; and when you have borne witness to this, it is unlawful for us either to shed your blood, or meddle with your substance or children. If you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith; otherwise I shall bring men against you who love death better than you do the drinking of wine or the eating of hog's flesh; nor will I ever stir from you, if it please God, till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made slaves of your children."

The patriarch, Sophronius, remonstrated with the Saracen on the impiety of his enterprise, telling him that Jerusalem was the holy city, and that whoever approached it with a hostile intention, would expose himself to the divine displeasure. The epithets *al koels*, *al sharief*, *the holy*, *the noble*, are often applied by the Arabs to Jerusalem; and Abu Obeidah concurred with Sophronius in the sentiment of respect due to the sepulchres of the prophets; but in his opinion, the sacredness of Jerusalem was a cogent reason why the infidels should be no longer masters of it. During the four months that Jerusalem was invested by the Saracens, no succours were received from Constantinople; and the event of the contest was, that the Jerusalemites agreed to surrender, provided the calif appeared in

person to take them under his protection, and sign the articles of capitulation.

These conditions were discussed in the little divan of Medina. Othman was surly, and wished to humble the pride, and confound the obstinacy of the infidels; but Ali had the spirit of a gentleman, and thought it highly fit that the hearts of the moslems should be refreshed by the presence of their prince, and that the sanctity of Jerusalem should be respected. The judgment of Ali prevailed, and Omar addressed himself to his journey. His equipage was very simple and characteristic. A proud consciousness of strength made him despise the gaudy trappings of regal impotence. He mounted his red camel, which, in addition to his sacred person, carried the whole of his viatica, a bag of corn, a bag of fruits, a skin filled with water, and a wooden dish. As he proceeded, he displayed his bounty, his piety, and his justice; the first, by inviting any who were present at his meal hours to partake of his boiled corn and fruits, the second, by the regularity with which he performed his devotions, and the third, by the impartiality with which he heard complaints and redressed grievances. Two or three anecdotes deserve to be transcribed, as aptly depicting the character of Omar, in reference to the last particular. At one of the stages of his journey, he was told of an Arab who had married two sisters. Having summoned them into his presence, he demanded of the man if he was a moslem, if the

women were sisters, and if they were both his wives ? Being answered in the affirmative, he ordered the Arab to put one of them away. The Arab loved his wives so well and so equally, that he did not like to part with either, and expressed his sorrow that he had ever embraced the islam, as he could have done as well without it. To this reflection on the islam, Omar replied with blows, and dismissed the offender with a caution, that if he resumed his repudiated wife, or renounced the islam, he should answer for it with his life. “ Pray mind what I say to you ; *if a man makes profession of our religion, and then leaves it, we kill him.*”

At the next stage of his journey, he released from punishment some tributaries whom his officers had sentenced to be exposed to the burning sun, for not paying more than they were able.

At the close of his journey, he said his prayers and preached a sermon publicly, and others besides the moslems flocked to see and hear the calif. While delivering his discourse, he quoted a text from the Koran, “ He whom God shall direct is led the right way ; but thou shalt not find a friend to direct him aright whom God shall lead into error.” A priest stood up and said, *God leads no man into error.* The calif made no reply to his respondent, but told those who stood near him to strike off his head, if he should say so again.

The articles of capitulation agreed to between Omar and the Jerusalemites ensured to the latter a partial toleration. But they were to build no new

churches either in the city, or in the circumjacent territory; they were to shew respect to the moslems, and abstain from putting crosses on their churches, and exhibiting their books in the streets. On those conditions the Jerusalemites received a patent of sufferance and security, inscribed, "*From Omar to the inhabitants of Ælia. You shall be protected and secured both in your lives and fortunes, and your churches shall neither be pulled down, nor made use of by any but yourselves.*"

Having laid the foundations of a magnificent mosque in Jerusalem,* and given orders as to the future operations of his missionaries, the calif hastened back to the tomb of the prophet.

Aleppo, Antioch, Cesarea, and Tyre, with several other places of less consequence, soon fell into the hands of the Saracens. Heraclius was at Antioch when they approached, and his son Constantine at Cesarea, and they had still sufficient forces to make the Saracens repent of having quitted their native sands in pursuit of empire;

* Mr. Connor says, "The most beautiful building within the walls of Jerusalem is the mosque of Omar. The Turks have a singular reverence for this mosque, and will not permit a christian even to set his foot in the large grassy area which surrounds it. From the side of Olivet you have a commanding view of the city. The mosque of Omar appears particularly fine from this situation. The greater part of the surrounding country is most desolate and dreary. Hills of white parched rock, dotted here and there with patches of cultivated land, every where meet and offend the eye."

but they contented themselves with a few heartless efforts, and with controverting the religious opinions and miracles of the late impostor, and then pusilanimously deserted their subjects and retired to Constantinople.* There are some men naturally inert, who, if they are once roused to exertion, are capable of performing heroic exploits. Such was Heraclius.

The conquest of Syria was followed by the reduction of Alexandria in Egypt, and Ctesiphon the capital of Persia. Thus, during the califate of Omar, a space of ten years, the Arabs became

* While Heraclius was in Antioch, two hundred prisoners were brought before him, who were commanded by his servants to fall down in adoration; among these was Derar, an intrepid and adventurous chief, who replied, that they did not think adoration due to any creature, and that their prophet had forbidden it. These prisoners, by the advice of the bishops, were taken into the great church of Antioch to see if any of them would embrace the christian faith and be baptized. One young Arab became a proselyte; but his brethren imputed his conversion to the dress and beauty of the Grecian ladies. When the father of the youth heard of his apostacy, he exclaimed, "What! turn infidel after having embraced the faith. Alas for thee, thou art driven from the gate of the most merciful! Alas for thee, thou hast denied the King, the Judge! Alas for thee, thou reprobate, thou hast denied the Lord of might and perfect power! I weep for thee, not because we must part in this world, but because I must part with thee in the next, when thou shalt go one way and I another. When thou shalt go to the habitation of devils, and be placed with priests and deacons in the lowest mansion of hell, I shall go with the followers of Mohammed, to meet those spirits that converse with him."—*Ockley Hist. Sar. Vol. I. 305.*

masters of Syria from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, of Egypt from the mouth of the Nile to Cyene, of the province of Cilicia, and of the kingdom of Persia.

The sketch we have given of the principal actions of Omar, marks his character as an original. His sudden elevation to power, and the rapidity with which his consequence encreased, produced no material alteration in his deportment. While absolute master of countries, the princes of which had flourished in costly magnificence, and arrogated to themselves divine honours, he was content with his mud-walled palace, and beggars had free access to his person. His food consisted chiefly of barley-bread and dates, and his drink was water. In the room of fine robes, he was arrayed in justice ; the most powerful transgressor could not escape his tribunal with impunity, and the most obscure and indigent plaintiff was sure that his cause would be heard with promptitude and patience. But with all his great and good qualities, the second calif was either a stern fanatic, or an intolerant impostor.

Alexandria stood a siege of fourteen months, during which, the Saracens lost twenty-three thousand men. The obstinate resistance of the Alexandrians, furnished Amrou with a pretext for vowing, that he would render the city as accessible on all sides as the house of a harlot, which he accordingly did, by demolishing the fortifications. He then made Omar acquainted with his

success. "I have taken," said he, "the great city of the west. It is of an immense extent. I cannot describe to you how many wonders it contains. Here are four thousand palaces, and as many public baths, four hundred theatres or places of amusements, twenty-four thousand dealers in oil, roots, and vegetables, and forty thousand tributary Jews."

The destruction of the royal library of Alexandria has been heard of in all lands where history is known and science respected. John, a Peripatetic philosopher, who was on terms of intimacy with Amrou, solicited from him a grant of this precious treasure. But the general refused to dispose of such an extensive repository of ancient learning, without first consulting the calif. The answer of Omar was *that if these writings of the Greeks agree with the Koran, they are useless and need not be preserved; but if they do not, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed.* The sentence of the illiterate barbarian was put into execution, and the books were distributed among the baths, where they served for fuel during six months. Such is the account given of the destruction of the royal library of Alexandria, by Abulpharagius, who wrote six hundred years after the event. The story seems rather too wonderful to be true in its whole extent; and the critics of Europe begin to receive it with some hesitation. It is common for the greatness and goodness of any thing to be most extolled and

exaggerated before it is possessed, and after it is lost.

Before we bid adieu to Amrou and Omar, we must quote a letter of the former to the latter, which contains an animated and picturesque description of the scene of his victories. “ Prince of the faithful! paint to thyself a beautiful champaign country situate between deserts, and two ranges of mountains, one of which appears a sandhill, and the other resembles the back of a camel or the belly of a starved horse. Such is Egypt. All its riches and productions, from Cyene to Mensha, are owing to a blessed river which flows with majesty through the midst of it. The periods of its rise and fall are as regular as the courses of the sun and moon. At a certain season of the year, all the springs of the earth pay to this king of rivers the annual tribute to which Providence has subjected them. Then its waters swell till they overflow its bed, and cover the land of Egypt, depositing on its surface a prolific slime. Commerce between the villages is carried on, at that time, only by means of light boats, which are as numerous as the leaves of the palm tree. When the moment arrives that its waters are no longer necessary for fertilizing the soil, the docile river re-enters the bounds which nature has prescribed to it, in order that the treasure may be collected, which it has laid up in the bosom of the earth.

“ A people protected by heaven, and which, like the bee, seemed destined to labour for others without profiting by the fruits of their toil, lightly

open the ground, and depositing the seeds, await their fecundation from the bounty of that Being who causes them to germinate, to grow, and to ripen. The seed develops itself, the stalk rises, and the ear is formed, by the aid of an abundant dew which supplies the want of rain, and keeps up the nourishing moisture with which the soil is embued. A rich crop is immediately succeeded by sterility. Thus, O prince of the faithful, Egypt offers by turns the image of a powdery desert, a liquid and silvery plain, a black and slimy marsh, a green and waving meadow, and a garden blooming with flowers, or a field covered with yellow harvests. Blessed be the Creator of so many wonders.*

“ Three things, O prince of the faithful, essentially contribute to the prosperity of Egypt. The first, not to adopt avaricious projects for encreasing the taxes ; the second, to employ a part of the revenue in keeping up the canals ; the third, to levy taxes only in kind.”

* Thornton's Turkey, Vol. I. 88.—Volney, Vol. I. 244.

An English poet has given a very lively picture of Egypt in the following lines :—

“ What wonder in the sultry climes that spread,
Where Nile, redundant o'er his summer bed,
From his broad bosom life and verdure flings,
And broods o'er Egypt with his wat'ry wings ;
If, with advent'rous oar, and ready sail,
The dusky people drive before the gale :
Or on frail floats to neighb'ring cities ride,
That rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide.”

Yet the true spirit of poetry may be as easily traced in the prose of Amrou as in the verse of Gray.

The califates of Othman and Ali, were chiefly remarkable for intestine feuds and civil wars, in which the hostile factions wasted each other. The contest between Moawiyah and Ali, and the assassination of the latter gave rise to that grand schism by which Mohammedan nations are happily divided to the present day. Ali was in the sixty-third year of his age, when he received a mortal wound from the point of a dagger, which had been poisoned on purpose. His sepulchre, near the ruins of Cufa, is adorned with a temple and a city, and the Persians consider it a meritorious piece of devotion to go on pilgrimage to his tomb. The character of Ali is one of the fairest and most manly to be found in the early annals of the islam. He had a high and generous soul, and was of a frank and manly disposition.

Demosthenes and Cicero were destitute of personal courage; but Ali was alike pre-eminent in the accomplishments of a man, an orator, and a soldier.* As the son of Abu Taleb, he was

* Ali enriched the scanty literature of his country by several compositions which were long held in admiration. Ockley has given an English version of 169 sentences of his. To select the *beauties* of a writer is rather an adventurous undertaking, since that which is a beauty in the eye of one, may not be so in the eye of another. But to me, the following appear to have most point. "Men are more like the time they live in, than like their fathers." "No innocence with covetousness, no rest with envy." "The freedom of man consists in speaking the truth." "Being acquainted with bad men is going to sea." The translator, in his preface, tells us, that the book from which

prince of Mecca, and hereditary guardian of the caaba ; as the first of believers, and the son-in-law of the prophet, he had a title to the throne of Medina of which his three predecessors were destitute. While the justice of his claims to the califate was overlooked, he repressed his indignation and behaved himself as a peaceable sub-

he made his selection is not much less than the new testament ; and he takes occasion to inveigh against the vanity of the west-erlings in despising the ignorance of the eastern nations. “ They have their wisdom,” says he, “ by inheritance from their forefathers ; they are tenacious of their ancient customs, and retain the precepts of their ancestors ; and they couch more solid wisdom under one single aphorism, than some European writers put into a system. We make their polygamy an objection against them. How would they smile to see a man jangling it out with his wife, thirty or forty years together, which of the two should govern the family ?”

By his first wife, Fatimah, the daughter of Mohammed, Ali had three sons, Hassan, Hosein, and Mohassan. The last died in his infancy, the two first survived their father. An anecdote is related of Hassan, to the honour of his moderation. A slave, in waiting at table, having spilt on his master a dish of scalding broth, fell prostrate at his knees, and quoted a verse of the Koran :—*Paradise is open to those who restrain their anger, “ I am not angry ;” and to those who pardon offences ; “ I pardon yours ;” and to those who return good for evil ; “ I give you your liberty and four hundred drams of silver.”—History of the Saracens, Vol. II. 104.*

Sir John Chardin speaks of a hermitage in the neighbourhood of Tauris, called Ayn Ali, or *the eyes of Ali*. The Persians account Ali the most lovely man, that was ever seen ; so that, when they would signify any thing that is extremely handsome, they compare it to the *eyes of Ali*.—*Travels in Persia*, 354.

ject ; and when at length he was elected, and Moawiyah raised the standard of rebellion against him at Damascus, his conduct was distinguished alike for clemency and courage. When the two armies met on the plain of Siffin, near the banks of the Euphrates, Ali offered to save the blood of his subjects, by referring the dispute between him and his rival to the decision of a single combat ; but Moawiyah declined the challenge. The worst that can be laid to the charge of Ali, is, that he aided and abetted a daring imposition ; but this could be no crime in the eyes of his countrymen, and it is possible that his understanding was dazzled by the sublime doctrine of the unity of God. His followers say, that he opposed the worship of idols before he was born, by hindering his mother from bowing down to them.

Ali expired without nominating a successor, but his eldest son, Hassan, was proclaimed. Moawiyah however, still maintained his opposition at Damascus under the pretence of revenging the death of Othman. Hassan had more of his father's suavity and gentleness than of his decision and courage ; and the policy of Moawiyah soon supplied an opportunity to negotiate his abdication. After his abdication, Hassan enjoyed the sweets of tranquility and affluence for eight years, at the close of which, he died of poison, which it is supposed was administered through the artifices of Moawiyah. Hosein requested his dying

brother to tell him the name of his murderer, in order that he might avenge his death; but Hassan replied, "O brother, the life of this world is made up of nights that vanish. Let him alone till he and I meet before the divine tribunal." In this, Hassan made an advance on the example of his father, who charged his sons, in case his wound proved mortal, not to execute his murderer by lingering tortures, but dispatch him at a single stroke. After Hassan's resignation, Moawiyah became sole emperor of the Saracens. This man was an adept in those arts by which the cunning and the cowardly sometimes triumph over the brave and the ingenuous. Having established himself in the throne of a rising empire, he diverted the attention of his subjects, from the means of his elevation, to the extension of his dominion. The moslems had already made such havoc of the empire of the east, that we need not wonder at their presumption, in meditating the capture of the metropolis. In this splendid enterprise, they were commanded by Yezid, the son of Moawiyah; and they were suffered by the degenerate Greeks to pass the channel of the Hellespont, without molestation. But though the besiegers had little to fear from the grandson of Heraclius, who at this time presided in the city, and disgraced the name of Constantine, they had formed very inadequate ideas of the natural and factitious bulwarks of Constantinople. After repeating their efforts for six successive

summers, and suffering much from shipwreck, disease, and artificial fire, thrown on them by the besieged, they ingloriously abandoned the prize, and contented themselves with ravaging the contiguous shores of Europe and Asia. As the time was not yet come for the crescent to be displayed over the dome of St. Sophia, the moslems prepared to extend their conquests in another direction. Africa was ready to receive them. The luxurious ministers of the Byzantine court had prepared the minds of their subjects for revolt, by their oppressive exactions; and the bishop of Carthage had alienated the hearts, not only of sectaries, but also of catholics, by the same means. The scorching sands of Africa impeded the progress of the Romans in the heroic days of their empire; but the aborigines of the desert were better adapted to traverse arid and sultry regions, and the tide of conquest was soon rolled from the banks of the Nile to the shores of the Atlantic. When the troops of Acbah were stopped in their victorious career by the western ocean, he spurred his horse into the waves, and exclaimed, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the west, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods but thee."

Moawiyah was succeeded by his son Yezid, a dissolute and impious youth, who drank wine

publicly, and was attended by eunuchs, who oppressed his subjects, and was fond of dogs. The succession of Yezid was brought about by the policy of his father, who contrived to change an elective, into a hereditary monarchy. Some of the chiefs of Medina, among whom was Hosein, the son of Ali, refused to acknowledge Yezid as the successor of the prophet. This refusal led to the tragic death of Hosein, an event, the remembrance of which awakens the annual sympathy of the Persians to the present day.* Ho-

* Ockley, Vol. II. 184, has given a circumstantial and pathetic account of the last days of Hosein, and of the incidents which led to his woful catastrophe; and our modern travellers describe the ceremonies by which the Shiites rouse their feelings to grief and indignation in their annual commemoration of his death.—*See Morier's Persia*, 194.

Disasters pursued the family of Ali; but if posthumous fame be any compensation for pain, disappointment, and sorrow, in life, the twelve imams of the Persian creed have no cause to complain. Sir John Chardin, has described the splendid mausoleums in which some of the grandchildren of Ali are interred, and translated the prayers and songs in which pilgrims offer up their devotions at their tombs. A few sentences shall serve as a sample of many. Thus—"Salvation upon thee, Mohammed seal and last of the prophets. Salvation upon thee, Ali, prince and director of the faithful, vicar of the apostle of the Lord of human creatures. Salvation upon thee, Fatimah, lady of the women of the world. Salvation upon you both, the grandchildren of the prophet of mercy, &c." This is plain prose. The following may illustrate, at once, the genius of Persian eloquence, and the raptures of Shiite devotion. "O inexpressible man! who has no equal but Mohammed, the elect prophet. God has assigned upon thy love the dowry of the ladies of para-

sein was of a martial spirit, and too readily listened to the overtures of the Cufians who proposed to assert his claim to the moslem throne with a hundred and forty thousand warriors, as soon as he should make his appearance on the banks of the Euphrates.

In opposition to the advice of his best friends, Hosein confided in the offers of a perfidious people, who invited him to his own destruction. When he approached the confines of Irak, the grandson of the prophet was met, not by those who had invited him, but by the troops of Yezid. After some fruitless attempts at negociation, an action took place, on the plain of Kerbella, in which Hosein with his son and nephew, two beautiful youths, and all his male companions were slain.

dise.—Destiny does but execute thy commands. The sun is enlightened by the beams of thy knowledge.—Had Hercules seen the valour of thy arm, assuredly the bird of his soul would have broken the cage of his body, and fled for fear.—Great saint ! who art the true mansion of God, thy mouth is the treasure of sublimest sense.—Human wit, that divided the world into four parts, is no more with thee than an atom of dust.—Gabriel, with all his art and knowledge, is but a mere scholar to thee.—O destroyer of heresy ! thou art the secretary of the commands of divine inspiration.—The infallibility of predestination depends upon thy conduct ; she is so modest as never to set her foot before thine.” These verses in honour of Ali, with many others less sublime and more absurd, are written in letters of gold, round the magnificent gallery of the tomb of Abas II. at Com.—*Travels in Persia*, 390, 399.

The magnanimous and pious sentiments expressed by Hosein as he composed himself to meet his fate, serve to heighten the veneration in which his memory is held. "Our trust," said he, "is in God alone. All things both in heaven and earth must perish, and return to their creator. My brother, my father, and my mother, were better than I, and every moslem has an example in the prophet." The female attendants and relations of Hosein were spared and respected by the general of the Cufians; and in the various characters of saints, of subjects, of princes, and of beggars, the posterity of Ali have enjoyed the veneration of the people and provoked the jealousy of the adverse califs.

Yezid was succeeded by his son Moawiyah II. who being of a sickly constitution, held the califate only six months.

Thus the current of events, in the most busy parts of the world, has brought us to the close of the seventh century; a century in which one of the strangest revolutions was effected, of which there is any record in the annals of mankind. Whether we consider the rapidity of their conquests, the extent of their dominions, the perpetuity of their power, or the intolerant genius of their religion, the Moslems will appear to possess an unquestionable title to the attention we have paid them. There are but few religious professions but have tampered more or less with persecution; but there is none which has avowed it

so explicitly, as the means of proselytism, as the islam. The exclusive and unforbearing spirit of this audacious imposition was published, in less than a century, in characters of blood, over some of the most considerable parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. But though intolerance is congenial with the nature of the Mohammedan superstition, yet it is pleasing to remark, that Mohammedans have humanely departed from the spirit of their faith,* and that the brightest periods of national prosperity, of which they can boast, have been those in which this departure has been greatest. Perhaps there never has been a fraternity of bigots which has not, on some occasions, cemented its power and extended its influence, by the incongruous help of toleration. The reader, therefore, must not be surprised, if, in the sequel of the Mohammedan history, he meets with the detail of proceedings and usages much at variance with the *esprit du corps*.

The conquest of a country, and the establishment of the authority of the conquerors over it, are two things. But the moslems not only over-

* In this we have something characteristic of the nature of man, and the policy of princes. The Koran is not only the religious, but also the civil and juridical, code of the Mohammedans. Taken altogether, it is decidedly and fiercely intolerant. The New Testament is as decided on the contrary; and moreover, does not pretend to direct its votaries in any thing appertaining to secular legislation. Nevertheless, moslems have pleaded the Koran in favour of toleration, and christians have urged the Bible in defence of persecution.

ran that vast extent of territory stretching from the mouths of the Nile to the columns of Hercules, and from the southern shores of the Mediterranean to the great deserts of central Africa; but they made it the permanent seat of their religion and laws.

The ancient names of the Massigetæ, the Gætuli, the Carthagenians, the Moors and Numidians, were confounded and united under the sceptre of the califs; and the Mohammedan empires of Fez and Morocco, the kingdoms of Fezzan and Barca, and the states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, rose on the ruins of independent kingdoms and Roman conquests.

In the union of the various tribes of northern Africa, under the power of their new conquerors, we are called upon to observe, once more, how the boundaries of Christendom contracted before the fierce and desolating progress of Mohammedism.

The labours of Cyprian and Augustin were of no longer avail for Africa; the christian churches melted away, and after the lapse of a few years, scarcely any vestiges of them could be traced. The Saracens were too ignorant and impetuous to have recourse to the tedious expedient of *Indices Expurgatorii*; they adopted a more direct and summary method, and destroyed indiscriminately, all books of christian theology, lest they should be of future detriment to the islam. And it is to be lamented, that not only was the pro-

fession of christianity abandoned in regions where missionaries had toiled and churches flourished, but its very name became the sure passport to reproach and peril.

The Saracens had scarcely pitched their tents along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, when their ambition and fanaticism prompted them to meditate the conquest of Spain. Before we follow them into Europe, we must observe that they are known chiefly in Spanish history, under the designation of Moors. The Mauritians or Moors were but a small part of the nations of north Africa ; but in their savage, roving, and predatory manner of life, they much resembled the Arabs of the wilderness, which, perhaps, may account for their name being given to the whole of that motley swarm of marauders, which infested Spain. Mr. Southey has grouped them in a few easy but expressive lines :—

—————The apostate Greek,
The vicious Syrian, and the sullen Copt,
The Persian cruel and corrupt of soul,
The Arabian robber, and the prowling sons
Of Africa, who from their thirsty sands
Pray that the locusts on the peopled plain
May settle and prepare their way.——

The Moors made their first descent on Spain, A. D. 710. At this time Wallid occupied the throne of Damascus, Musa was his representative in Africa, and Tarick, or Tarif, was appointed to command the expedition against Spain.

The sceptre of the Spanish monarchy was in the hands of Roderick, the last of the Goths, a prince whose history has been made the basis of many a structure of fable and romance. The Goths were no longer the fierce barbarians who triumphed over the discipline of imperial armies; they were nursed in the lap of ease, and enervated by the luxuries of southern latitudes. The subversion of their dominion in Spain, is further accounted for, by the factions into which they were divided, and by the story of Count Julian's revengeful perfidy. Roderick was ill consorted with a disagreeable woman, older than himself; and Cava, the daughter of Count Julian, was young, beautiful, and of a pleasant disposition. The prince was overcome with her charms, and made an unlawful use of the confidence she reposed in him. A short time before this calamitous event, Don Julian had repulsed the Moors from the fortress of Ceuta, which, though on the African side of the straits, was in the possession of the Spaniards. But being made acquainted with the injury done to his family, the indignant father made a rash offer not only of throwing open the strongest fortifications of his country, but also of introducing the enemy into its very heart. I am aware that the treachery of Julian has been attributed to other motives, "more congenial to the breast of a veteran statesman;" but the fact is not controverted, and it may be doubted whether a tale, supported in any degree by external evi-

dence, ought to be exchanged for a theory however ingenious.

The way was now open for the blood-stained missionaries of the islam, to make their ominous transit into the west of Europe, and they had much reason to be pleased with their good fortune, in that, the commands of the prophet, and the behests of heaven, carried them to regions so much more fair and fertile, than those of their nativity.

But before Musa would trust the strength of his army to the dubious faith of a traitor and an infidel, he sent over a small number of his men, to explore the ports of Spain, opposite to his camp, who returned with cheering news of the hospitable treatment they had received, of the richness of the soil, and of the unguarded state of the towns. Early in the ensuing spring, (A. D. 711,) he sent five thousand troops under the command of Tarif, who landed at the foot of mount Calpé, on the spot where the town of Gibraltar has since been built.*

* Thou Calpé saw'st their coming, ancient rock,
Renowned, no longer now shalt thou be called
From gods and heroes of the years of yore,
Kronos, or hundred handed Briarius,
Bacchus or Hercules; but doomed to bear
The name of thy new conqueror and thenceforth
To stand his everlasting monument.

Mr. Southey's Roderick.

Gibel al Tarif, the mountain of Tarif, is the received derivation of Gibraltar.

Fresh arrivals soon augmented the army of Tarif to twelve thousand ; and the Goths, on the other side, at length awoke from their supineness, and began to prepare for the defence of their altars and fire sides. The hostile armies met in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, on the plain of Xeres, where a desperate battle was fought ; the slaughter was prodigious on both sides, and the waters of the Guadalete bore the mingled blood of Moors and Goths into the ocean ; but at the close of the fourth day, the obstinate valour of Tarif, and the seasonable defection of Julian and his party, left the moslems in possession of the field. The fate of Roderick is uncertain ; but the opinion best supported is, that when he saw the tergiversation of Julian, and the sons and brother of Witiza, and the confusion of his army, he started from his ivory car and mounted Orelia ; “ but he escaped from a soldier’s death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Bœtis, or Guadalquiver. His diadem, his robes, and his courser, were found on the bank ; but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the calif must have been gratified with some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Damascus.”

From the ensanguined plain of Xeres, in the frontier province of Andalusia, the victorious Moors, spirited by success, and strengthened by the arrival of new hordes of adventurers, carried their arms to the royal city of Toledo, in the cen-

tre of the kingdom, and from the walls of Toledo, and the banks of the Tagus, to the bay of Biscay and the confines of France. “ Spain, which in a more savage and disorderly state, had resisted for two hundred years the arms of the Romans, was overrun in a few months by those of the Saracens ; and such was the eagerness of submission and treaty, that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the only chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into their hands. The cause of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the field of Xeres ; and, in the national dismay, each part of the monarchy declined a contest with the antagonist who had vanquished the united strength of the whole.”

Tarif was followed by Musa at the head of ten thousand Arabs and eight thousand Africans, who directed their course to Merida, the metropolis of Lusitania. The monuments of Roman art and magnificence excited the admiration and fired the ambition of Musa. “ I should imagine, said he, that the human race must have united their art and power in the foundation of this city : happy is the man who shall become its master.” A few efforts of courage and prudence put Musa in possession of this happiness, but not without the loss of several of his trusty veterans. The alternative of exile or tribute was allowed to the vanquished, by the moderation of the conqueror ; half the churches remained with the christians, and half were converted into mosques ; and the riches of the infidels who had fallen in the siege, or made their escape

to the mountains and fastnesses of the north, were distributed as the rewards of the faithful.

On his way from Merida to Toledo, Musa was met by Tarif, his heroic lieutenant, and by him was conducted into the vacant palace of the Gothic kings.

“The exploits of Musa,” says Gibbon, “were performed in the evening of life, though he affected to disguise his age by colouring, with a red powder, the whiteness of his beard. But in the love of action and glory, his breast was still fired with the ardour of youth ; and the possession of Spain was considered only as the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by sea and land, he was preparing to repass the Pyrenees, to extinguish in Gaul and Italy the declining kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vatican. From thence, subduing the barbarians of Germany, he proposed to follow the course of the Danube from its source to the Euxine sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his new acquisitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria.”

But Musa envied the success and injured the character of Tarif, and Tarif impeached the conduct and intentions of Musa ; and by this unhand-some reciprocation of slander, the conquerors of Spain effected the downfall of each other. In the midst of these proceedings, Wallid died, and was

succeeded in the throne of Damascus by his brother Soliman. Tarif was sent into exile under the decent pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca, and the decease of Musa was accelerated by the anguish of a broken heart. To indulge an unchristian passion, Count Julian had become a traitor to his country, and an apostate from his religion; his fate is uncertain, and may be supposed melancholy, and is therefore a fit theme for the embellishment of the tragic muse; but it is believed, not wholly without reason, that he fell a victim to the jealousy of his new allies.*

We have thus sketched a brief outline of another astonishing revolution effected by the arms of the moslems. The causes of success in this daring enterprise must be looked for, not so much in the energies of the invaders, as in the disunion and supineness of the defenders, of the country. The former were urged on by the thirst of domi-

* The following stanzas are copied from an ode on the invasion of Spain, by the Moors, written by Luis de Leon, and translated by Mr. Southey.

Woe to the sons of Leon! woe
 To fair Castilia's plain!
 And where the pleasant waves of Ebro flow,
 The conquering infidel shall fix his reign,
 And Lusitania yields;—Woe, woe, to wretched Spain!
 The vengeful Count, in evil hour,
 The impious aid will call!
 Swift o'er the ocean swarms the swarthy power,
 Vain the strong bulwark, vain the massy wall,
 The bulwark soon shall shake, the fortress soon shall fall,

nion and the fury of fanaticism; but a just and grateful attachment to the social institutions from which arise the blessings of citizenship and national prosperity, and an indignant resentment of unprovoked hostility, ought to arm every man with a determined resolution to conquer or die, in defence of his native land. The political weakness which rendered so large a portion of the world an easy prey to the Saracens, was produced, in a great measure, by the spirit of faction, intolerance, and superstition. The inhabitants of Spain were intimidated by dreams and visions, and by the rumour of the portraits of the destined conquerors of their country being discovered on the breaking open of a palace, or tower, which had been long closed.* The jews

Hark! hark! ev'n now on Afric's coast

I hear the trumpets blair!

From every quarter rush the robber host,

They rush the battle and the prey to share,

And high their banners wave, and bright their crescents glare.

The Arab, eager for the fight,

Leaves his waste sands behind:

Swift is his steed, and swift his arrows flight;

The burning thirst of battle fires his mind,

He lifts his quivering lance, he wounds the passing wind.

Southey's Letters from Spain, Vol. II. 97.

* The adventure of the Gothic prince in this tower, is alluded to by most historians and poets, who have touched on the Moorish conquest.

"This tower was built between two steep rocks, half a league to the east of Toledo; and above the story next the ground,

were numerous in Spain, and their wealth and activity must have procured them considerable influence. The hard alternative of baptism or exile had often been pressed on them by the mistaken zeal and piety of kings and bishops. Under treatment of this kind, the spirit of hatred and revenge rankles in the breast, but is cauti-

was to be seen a very deep cave, parted into four different vaults, to which a very narrow mouth or opening led, cut out of the rock, and was closed with an iron door, which, as the report went, had a thousand locks, and as many bolts. Over the door were certain greek characters, which admitted several significations, but the most prevalent opinion was, that they contained a prediction of the misfortune of him who should open the tower.

“Rodrigo caused certain torches to be made, which the air and wind of the cave could not put out; and having forced open the door, he entered, being attended by a great many persons. He had not gone many steps, before he found himself in a very fair hall, (perhaps a Roman amphitheatre) adorned with sculptures, and in the middle stood a statue of brass, three cubits high, which held in his hand a battle-axe, with which ever and anon he struck upon the ground, and every blow resounding through the cave, made a most dreadful noise. Rodrigo was so far from being terrified, that he assured the phantom, that he came not to commit any disorder in the place of his abode, and promised to be gone as soon as he had viewed all the wonders of the place; and then the image ceased to strike upon the earth.

“Thus, the example of the king encouraging his followers, he took an exact view of the hall, at the entrance into which stood a round vatt, whence issued a water-spout, that made a thundering noise. Upon the breast of the statue, was written in arabic, *I do my duty*, and upon the back of it, *To my succour*. On the right hand, upon the wall, were to be read

ously dissembled by the countenance, until an opportunity offers of venting it, with safety and success. The Arabs were too quick-sighted and subtle, not to avail themselves of the irritated feelings of an oppressed people, in order to extend and consolidate their power; and the liberal toleration which the jews enjoyed under them, until the æra of their common expulsion, is a pleasing memorial of their gratitude and policy.

We have already seen that the Koran is by no means favourable to that stiff-necked nation, who, after being visited by so many prophets, refused to submit to the last and greatest of the prophets; but the student of history will be often struck with the inadequacy of human systems, to produce an uniform consistency of conduct. Man is the creature of circumstances, and his opinions and practice have ever varied according to the vicissitudes of his condition.

Granada became one of the principal seats of the Moorish power in Spain. The situation of this country, at the south east extremity of the

these words; *Unfortunate prince, thine evil destiny has brought thee hither!* and on the left hand, *Thou shalt be dispossessed by foreign nations, and thy subjects shall be punished, as well as thou thyself, for all their crimes.*

“Rodrigo having thus gratified his curiosity, returned; but he had no sooner turned his back, than the statue began to strike on the ground again; however the king caused the door to be shut fast again, and ordered the narrow passage to be stopped up with earth to the end, that no body should ever enter for the future.”

peninsula, is as delightful and salubrious, as can be imagined ; and if there were not other instances of astonishing alterations in the surface of the earth, by the rise, flourishing, and fall of kingdoms, the accounts given of the prosperity of Granada, in the best days of the Moors, would be altogether incredible. The city of Granada stands on two hills, at the foot of the Sierra Nevada, where two small rivers, the Dauro, and the Xenil, join their waters. The ancient palace, the Alhambra, and the Torre Vermeja, crown the double summit of the hill, between the rivers. The *vega*, or plain, is eight leagues long, and four broad ; a gentle slope of beautiful hillocks bounds the horizon on all sides, except that of the Sierra Nevada, and to the north west, where it is terminated by the bare top of the Sierra Elvira. The city extends along the skirts of the plain, in a semicircular form.* The ancient name of Gra-

* A history of Granada, published in the 14th century, describes it as "surrounded with most spacious gardens, where the trees are set so thick as to resemble hedges, yet not so as to obstruct the view of the beautiful towers of the Alhambra, which glitter, like so many bright stars, over the green forests." *Alhambra*, the residence of the Moorish kings of Granada, signifies *the red house* ; and was so called from the colour of the materials with which it was originally built. This singular structure was not erected at once, but is the work of successive princes, which accounts for its presenting the strange appearance of a collection of buildings, huddled together without uniformity. The walls without are unornamented ; but nothing can exceed the elegance of the design and workmanship within.

nada is Illiberia, said to be founded by Liberia, the great granddaughter of Hercules. The origin of the word Granada is disputed; but a split pomegranate being adopted as the arms of the nation, would seem to confirm the opinion which derives it from *granatum*. It is said, moreover, that the shape of the city bears some resemblance

“On my first visit,” says Mr. Swinburne, “I was struck with amazement, as I stepped over the threshold, to find myself on a sudden transported into a species of fairyland. The first place you come to, is the court called the *communa*, an oblong square, with a deep basin of clear water in the middle; two flights of marble steps leading down to the bottom; on each side, a parterre of flowers, and a row of ornage trees. Round the court, runs a peristyle paved with marble; the arches bear upon very slight pillars, in proportion and style different from all the regular orders of architecture. The ceilings and walls are incrustated with fret work in stucco, so minute and intricate, that the most patient draughtsman would find it difficult to follow it. The ceilings are gilt or painted, and time has caused no diminution in the freshness of their colours, though constantly exposed to the air. The lower part of the walls is mosaic, disposed in fantastic knots and festoons.” After giving a minute account of the several apartments in this edifice, our traveller concludes; “I shall finish this description of the Alhambra, by observing how admirably every thing was planned and calculated for rendering this palace the most voluptuous of all retirements; what plentiful supplies of water were brought to refresh it in the hot months of summer; what a free circulation of air was contrived, by the judicious distribution of doors and windows; what shady gardens of aromatic trees; what noble views over the beautiful hills and fertile plains!”—*Travels through Spain in the years 1775 and 76.*

to that fruit when ripe, and that the first pomegranate, brought from Africa, was planted near its walls.

To the west of Granada, in the province of Andalusia, rose the sumptuous kingdom of Cordova, which became the luxurious abode of science, genius, and literature, at a time when other parts of Europe were immersed in the deep shades of ignorance and barbarism. The growth of plants may be accelerated, and their beauty encreased, by a judicious change of soil and climate ; and it is certain that the Moors of Spain soon left their brethren of Arabia and Africa far behind in the race of improvement. In Granada, Cordova, and Seville, colleges were established and endowed ; the teachers of polite accomplishments and useful arts rivalled each other ; and a bright æra of taste, elegance, and philosophy, dawned upon Spain. There were two powerful reasons why the Moors and christians of Spain might be expected to hate each other, viz. the hostility of their religious creeds and political interests. But in the course of a few generations, the feelings produced by these causes subsided, and the harmonizing influence of a reciprocity of kind offices, of loves, and recreations, was strikingly displayed. While such of the christians as refused to submit to the ascendancy of the Moors, fortified and defended themselves among the mountains of Galicia and Asturias, the greater proportion of them lived together with their conquerors in the same towns and ham-

lets, beneath clear skies, and on a rich soil, abounding with beautiful landscapes, well adapted to sooth the passions and tranquilize the mind. In these circumstances, it is not strange that the difference of faith should be merged in the unity of nature, and the antipathy of sectaries, in the amity of citizens.

Much applause is due to several of the Moorish princes of Spain, for the moderation with which they asserted the divine authority of the islam; they wisely selected from the *book* the lessons of wisdom and moderation, best suited to neutralize the enmity of the infidels, and promote the prosperity of their dominions; and if in some instances, they enacted severe laws against the christians, there is much reason to think that they were not so severe as the christians would have enacted against them. While the crescent was triumphant, the mischievous power of the church was broken, and the oppressed jews were permitted to raise their heads like men, and profess the faith of their forefathers.

The same motives which urged the moslems to cross the sea, which divides Spain from Africa, were equally cogent for prompting them to cross the mountains which separate France from Spain. The first representative of the calif who engaged in this enterprise was Zama, who lost his army and his life under the walls of Thoulouse. This victory was achieved by the valour of Eudes, the intrepid duke of Aquitain, at the head of an army of Gascons, Goths, and Franks.

The Arabs, however, had been too long the favourites of fortune, to be intimidated by a single defeat. They again crossed the Pyrenees and took possession of the province of Septemania, or Languedoc, an appendage of the Spanish monarchy. But in the year thirty-one, the calif Hashem having gratified the wishes of the Moors by setting over them Abdalrahman, or Abderame, a brave and experienced soldier, preparations were made to extend the conquests of the islam across France, into the heart of Europe. The new lieutenant proceeded to the execution of his daring project, like one deeply sensible of the worth of time, and supremely anxious to justify the good opinion which had been entertained of his skill and courage. He first directed his march against Munuza, a Moorish chief, who had married the daughter of Eudes, and formed a political alliance with his father-in-law. This domestic rebel was so closely pursued, that he precipitated himself from a rock and perished; and his widow, who is eulogized by the historians as one of the greatest beauties of the age, was sent by Abderame as a captive to Damascus. From the foot of the Pyrenees, Abderame marched to the passage of the Rhone and the siege of Arles, and having made himself master of those parts of France, stretching towards the gulf of Lyons and the Mediterranean sea, he crossed the Garonne and Dordogne and approached the camp of Eudes, where another bloody battle was fought and the

christians defeated with such prodigious slaughter, that, according to their own confession, the slain could not be numbered. Abderame next displayed his standards before the gates of Tours and Sens, and his plundering armies spread their devastations over the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the cities of Lyons and Besançon. The chief part of the riches of France were at this time deposited in churches and convents, which the moslems despoiled without mercy, and levelled with the ground. Martin of Tours, and Hilary of Poitiers, at whose tombs so many prodigies had been wrought in opposition to the Arian heresy, suffered the most implacable enemies of the christian name to insult their bones, without the interposition of a single miracle.

The islam had now run, like wild-fire, from Arabia to Syria, from Syria to Egypt, from Egypt to the western ocean, and from the pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Loire; and who that contemplates its progress could be surprised had it become the established religion of all Europe? It might be expected that the nations of Christendom would, long ere this, have united in raising a monument to commemorate their deliverance from such a galling yoke.

Yet there are many, not ignorant of history, to whom it will not at once occur, by what means this great salvation was effected; and in truth, but little is known either of the private or public life of the prince by whose valour and fortune, a

final stop was put to the progress of the Saracens in France. The affairs of the French were at this time in the utmost disorder. The successors of Clovis had lost those martial qualities by which he established the monarchy of the Franks; and the last princes of the Merovingian dynasty are characterized by the epithet *faineans*, *idle*, or *sluggish*. One cause of this apathy and idleness was, that the chief prerogatives and functions of the prince had been usurped by a domestic officer, who, under the denomination of *Mayor of the palace*, governed the nation and superseded his master. This office which ought to have been at the free disposal of the prince, had been converted, by the force of custom, and the intrigues of aspiring ambition, into the hereditary privilege of a private family. Pepin, the elder, who from his palace on the Meuse, received the surname of Heristal, left Dagobert, a king of mature years, under the regency of his grandson, a child of six years of age. But Dagobert, debased as he was, had too much spirit to suffer a child to reign in his name. The partizans of the young mayor were defeated in battle, and Charles, the natural son of Pepin, was raised to the dignity of Mayor of the palace, by the Austrasians. It appears that very little disgrace was attached at this period, to illegitimacy of birth; and the activity, wisdom, and courage, of the new Mayor soon justified the choice of his adherents. The enemies of Charles were sufficiently numerous

and formidable to give full scope to his talents, and occupation to his time. He successively engaged and defeated the Suevi, the Frisons, and the Alemanni. He indulged, or repressed, as appeared most politic, the aspiring projects of his nobles. The ambition of Charles was of too manly a cast to desire the empty title of king; and having all the remaining branches of the royal house of Merovæus completely in his power, he treated them with kindness and respect. Chilperic joined with the duke of Aquitain against Charles, notwithstanding which, on the death of Clotaire, he caused Chilperic to be crowned, when he could as easily have caused him to be shaven.

Charles had scarcely composed the intestine commotions of his dominions, and established his power on a firm basis, when the Saracens came rolling in upon him, like a desolating inundation. And we may suppose that the Invisible Potentate, who says to the ocean, "Hitherto shalt thou come and no further," and who takes princes by the right hand, and girds them with strength, though they know it not, had raised up Charles, at this critical juncture, to arrest in its progress the swelling tide of moslem invasion.

It may seem strange that a general whose prowess was so undaunted, and whose movements were so rapid, as those of Charles, should allow a pitiless enemy to penetrate into the centre of

his country ; bnt it is the province of wisdom to know the fit times of delay and dispatch, and it is possible that procrastination, in this instance, was not so much the result of deep policy as dire necessity. Europe was not, at this period, in a condition to support standing armies, and many hindrances opposed the hasty collection of any considerable military force. Moreover, while, on the one hand, it may be supposed that Charles had no very strong objection that the dominions of his rival, the duke of Aquitain, should be ravaged by a foreign adversary, he was pleased that that chief should have sufficient time to collect his forces for the approaching struggle. When Charles and Eudes were prepared for a joint effort to vindicate the independence of their country, they found their common enemy between Tours and Poitiers. " The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour to an encounter which would change the history of the world. In the six first days of desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the east maintained their advantage: but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who with stout hearts and iron hands,* asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity. The epithet of *Martel*, the hammer, which has been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible

* *Manu ferrea*, says Roderic of Toledo.

ble strokes: the valour of Eudes was excited by resentment and emulation; and their companions, in the eye of history, are the true peers and Paladins of French chivalry. After a bloody field in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yeman and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other: the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each *emir* consulted his safety by a hasty and separate retreat.”*

Thus we have seen the boundaries of Christendom shrinking before the progress of the islam, until Charles Martel, and the duke of Aquitain, obtained this decisive victory over the warlike disciples of Mohammed. If adversity prepares the mind to receive the dictates of wisdom, the calamities which had now for a long time pressed

* Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. v. 332.

The loss of the Saracens in this battle is put down at seventy five thousand, while that of the Christians is computed at no more than fifteen hundred. It is probable that either the former is greatly exaggerated, or the latter much diminished.—Charles and Eudes contented themselves with the plunder of the hostile camp, without addressing themselves to the pursuit of the fugitives.

Fleury observes, that the Saracens, in their several incursions, made many martyrs; they took special delight in plundering and burning churches and monasteries, and in putting to death bishops and monks; nor did they abstain from these savage practices even as they fled from their conquerors.—Hist. Eccles. Tome ix. 228, 231.

so heavily on christians, smarting under the lash of Mohammedan intolerance, might have taught them the salutary lesson of being moderate in their disputes, and cordial in their adherence to each other. What proficiency had been made in such seasonable virtues, may be judged from a sketch of the controversy about images, which led to a final rupture between the bishops of Rome and the emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople.

In all ages of the world, there has been a strange propensity to the use of material objects in spiritual exercises. Thus men have become possessed of gods of their own device and subservient to their favourite purposes. It may seem surprising however that any of the human race should so far forget what they owe to themselves as to worship divinities of human fabrication. For it is obvious that statues and images, if conscious and animated, in the room of receiving homage, ought to come down from their pedestals, and worship the ingenious authors of their being.

The use of images in christian worship, as may be imagined, was not obtruded all at once, but crept in clandestinely, by little and little. The superstitions of the gentiles, had scarcely disappeared before the power of the church; when the protectors and doctors of the church began to introduce them piece by piece, and mingle them with the ordinances of christian worship. When the image and picture-hating disciples of

Mohammed, began their inroads on the Greek empire, and city after city fell into their hands, notwithstanding their being guarded by the relics and representations of the saints, it may be supposed, that these haughty and inflexible enemies of the imitative arts, would consider their victories as so many proofs that Providence abetted their opinions. The flame of true devotion was doubtless in a languishing state when recourse was had to sculpture and painting to revive it. But if christians had lost the spirit of true religion, it is pretty evident that the Saracens had not found it.

The controversy about images, which in the course of its tumultuous progress, involved alike the east and the west, began to assume a determined character under the reign of Philip Bardanes. This prince, with the consent of the patriarch of Constantinople, ordered a picture, which represented the sixth general council, to be removed from its place in the church of St. Sophia, because that council had condemned the Monothelites, whose cause Bardanes espoused. The next step of the emperor was to send an order to Rome, requiring the bishop of that see to remove from the churches all the obnoxious paintings; but the Roman pontiff not only refused to comply, but proceeded to call a council, in which he caused the emperor to be condemned as an apostate from the true religion. These commotions were allayed for a while, by a revolution, in which Bardanes lost his crown.

The dispute, however, was renewed, with increased virulence, under the reign of Leo, the Isaurian, who is known by the surname of *Iconoclast*, or image-breaker. The first efforts of Leo in the cause of reformation were cautious and moderate; but in the progress of his undertaking, he acted with characteristic warmth and vehemence. He first called an assembly of senators and bishops, and enacted, with their consent, that all images should be taken from around the altar, and raised to such a height in the churches where they might best answer the two-fold purpose of ornamenting the edifice, and serving as helps to devotion, without giving encouragement to idolatry. But the spirit of party and faction was too much on the alert to allow the disputants to be satisfied with mild measures, and the emperor's friends and adherents accused him of having discharged his duty in part only, and strongly urged him to follow the example of king Hezekiah, who broke in pieces the brazen serpent, notwithstanding its being made by Moses.

It so happened that Germanicus, who at this period, was patriarch of Constantinople, was opposed to the views of the emperor, and was on that account removed from his station, in order to make room for Anastasius, a prelate of a more ductile faith and temper. In the next stage of the controversy, the disputants proceeded to blows. There was a porch in the imperial palace of Constantinople, which was garnished with an

image of Christ on the cross. It is said that this cross was made by order of Constantine the Great, in memory of that which he had seen in the heavens; and to the honour of this illustrious origin was to be added the fame of many miracles. Leo sent one of his equerries to remove the image and cross, conceiving that they were become the occasion of idolatry.* The equerry was opposed in the execution of his orders, by a crowd of women, who besought him to abstain from such a daring act of sacrilege; but, disregarding their entreaties, he was precipitated from the top of a ladder, which he had ascended, and killed on the

* Cardinal Fleury says, that he was too ignorant to understand the difference between relative and absolute worship; and that he condemned not only the veneration of images, but rejected the intercession of saints, and held their relics in abhorrence.—Hist. Eccles. Tome ix, 199.

Gregory II. also, in the true spirit of ecclesiastic politeness, attributes the emperor's change of conduct to his scandalous ignorance. "During ten pure and fortunate years, we have tasted the annual comfort of your royal letters, subscribed in purple ink, with your own hand, the sacred pledges of your attachment to the orthodox creed of our fathers. How deplorable is the change! how tremendous the scandal! You now accuse the catholics of idolatry; and by the accusation, you betray your own impiety and ignorance. To this ignorance we are compelled to adapt the grossness of our style and arguments: the first elements of holy letters are sufficient for your confusion; and were you to enter a grammar-school, and avow yourself the enemy of our worship, the simple and pious children would be provoked to cast their horn-books at your head."

spot. The women also proceeded to the palace of Anastasius, the new patriarch, and reproached him as an infamous enemy of the truth, who had usurped the priestly office, in order to comply with the wishes of an imperial heretic, and innovate on the sacred usages of the church. Leo, however persisted in his undertaking, notwithstanding the fierce resistance of some of his subjects; he protected Anastasius, caused the image and the cross, in the vestibule of his palace, to be burned, and brought several of the persons concerned in the murder of his equerry, to summary and condign punishment.

If it is true in mechanics, that action and reaction are proportioned to each other, it is no less true in the doctrine of the passions. The decisive and severe measures of the emperor, were so far from intimidating the insurgents, that they were thereby provoked to an equal measure of resolution and rage. Factions, rescriminations, and murders, were multiplied on every side. The flames of controversy and sedition spread through every avenue of the city, and in a short time extended to the neighbouring provinces of Europe and Asia. The islands of the Archipelago, which abounded with images and religious associations, next caught the contagion, and reverberated with the deep intonations of intolerance and fanaticism. In the next instance, Italy itself became the scene of commotions and insurrections. The emperor had been declared unworthy the name and pri-

vileges of a christian ; and the Italians were thus prepared to rise in arms, renounce their allegiance, massacre his deputies, elect a new, and an orthodox, emperor, and conduct him, in state, to the palace of Constantinople. They accomplished the former part of their purpose, but were deterred from the latter, by the interposition of the Pope, who still hoped for the conversion of Leo. While the advocates of images triumphed in Rome, Ravenna was agitated by the conflicts of two obstinate factions, in quelling whose riots, the exarch lost his life. To avenge the death of his representative, and restore his dominion in Italy, the emperor sent a fleet into the Adriatic gulph ; but the *iconoduli*, or image worshippers were victorious, and they so deeply tinged the waters of the Po, with the blood of their enemies, as to create a strong prejudice against the fish.

A few years after, Ravenna was taken by Astolphus, king of the Lombards, who also demanded the submission of Rome. In this distressing exigency, pope Gregory sent messengers to the illustrious conqueror of the Saracens, tendering him the honour of consul of Rome, and imploring the succour of his arms. “ My dear son,” said Gregory, “ the prince of the apostles is well able to defend his house and people and to avenge himself on his enemies ; but he proves the heart of his faithful children.” This negociation was broken off by the death of both the parties. In the same year also, died Leo, the iconoclast,

who was succeeded in his throne, and in his project of suppressing the use of images, by his son Constantine, foully surnamed Copronymus. Charles Martel, in like manner, had a son who inherited the power, the talents, the virtues, and intentions, of his heroic father. This was Pepin II. in whom commenced the Carlovingian dynasty of the kings of France, so denominated from Charles Martel. There is no period in the history of Europe, in which, a prince of consummate ability was more wanted, than in the middle of the eighth century. And, as face answers to face in a mirror, so did the endowments and inclinations of Pepin correspond with the demands and facilities of his situation. He was ambitious, and the world invited him to empire; he was courteous, courageous, and prudent, and his aspiring genius taught him what use to make of such qualities. From his low stature he derived the surname of *le bref*; but any deficiency in the altitude of his body was well supplied by muscular strength and ability, and mental vigour.

Having discharged for some years the functions of a king with much success, Pepin condescended to ask the royal name. But between him and this name, there stood a phantom of royalty under whose shadow he had acted, and this phantom was rendered venerable by the solemnity of ancient forms. Moreover, the father of Pepin had shown respect to the rites by which men become kings; and it would not be decorous in

the son to treat with levity and contempt that which had been venerated by his father. A deputation, therefore, was sent to pope Zachary to know, whether it was lawful for a valiant nation to dethrone a cowardly and indolent monarch, and substitute, in his place, one more fit to rule, and who had already performed important services? The pontiff answered in the affirmative, and the unfortunate Chilperic was stripped of his royal honours and prerogatives, and shut up in a monastery. If any apology is made for Zachary in this transaction, it must be made on the ground of his circumstances.

The great as well as the little, the clergy as well as the laity, are liable to be influenced by calculations of interest. Mutual advantage is the soul of trade in general, and much of that, in particular, which has been carried on between the mitre and the crown, may be fairly attributed to the same principle. Pepin wanted the help of the pope, and the pope of Pepin.

Zachary was succeeded in the pontificate by Stephen II. who confirmed the decision of his predecessor by re-anointing and re-crowning Pepin. The alliance between the bishops of Rome and the second dynasty of French kings was cemented by a frequent interchange of compliments and services. Stephen visited the court of France to implore the protection of Pepin against Astolphus, king of the Lombards. The representative of St. Peter was received with honours answerable

to his pretensions ; in return for which, he conferred on Pepin and his sons the high dignity of patricians of Rome, and prevailed on the nobles of France to take a solemn oath not to raise to the throne a prince of any other family. On his return home, Stephen was followed by an army, commanded by Pepin in person, to teach the Lombards to abstain from pillaging the riches, and to respect the sanctity, of the holy see. By means of his powerful and active ally, Stephen brought his restless and troublesome neighbours into terms. Astolphus renounced his pretensions to Rome, and promised to restore the ex-archate of Ravenna ; but he was no sooner relieved from the terror of the French arms, than he willingly forgot his promise, and renewed his pretensions.

In this predicament, Stephen had recourse to a new device. He took the liberty of personating St. Peter, and of addressing a letter to the French king, in which, the prince of the apostles deploras the desolate state of the church, and calls upon his adopted son in the faith, to protect his tomb and people against the perfidious Lombards.*

* When the Pope refers to the Lombards, the bitterest language is used without parsimony, as though they were the sworn enemies of the Christian name ; but in the room of this, they were Christians and the children of the Pope. It is a grievous mistake that differences in religious belief and worship have produced the rancour of religious hatred. It here raged between the Lombards and Romans though of the same community. If in the world, the love of money is the root of all evil ; it is in the church, in an eminent sense, the root of one particular kind of evil.

The exhortation was followed by an assurance of riches, honours, and victory, in the present world, and of paradise in the next.* This bold stroke of rhetoric or imposture had its desired effect ; and the second visit of Pepin was equally prompt with the former, while it made a more last-

* Cardinal Fleury has a judicious reflection on this occurrence. He observes "that, the doctrine, of the promiscuous distribution of good and evil in the present life, seems to have been forgotten, when bishops and popes so audaciously employed temporal promises to engage princes to protect them ; as, amongst others, pope Stephen, when he wrote to the French king, in the name of St. Peter." (It is cheering, as sunshine in winter, to hear a cardinal speak the language of common sense and experience.) "These promises and menaces may for a season impose on the ignorant ; but when they are plainly seen to be void of effect, as it usually happens, they are only fit to scandalize men, and to weaken their faith, by inducing them to doubt also concerning the promises and threatenings relating to the life to come. Yet this old prejudice hath continued even in later ages ; and I can never sufficiently wonder, that so knowing a man as Baronius should insist so much upon the evils which have befallen the enemies of the church, especially of the holy see, and represent them constantly as divine judgments." This leads me to hint at another evil which arose from the accumulation of riches, viz. the use of fraud. Fictions were employed to spread a terror of the divine judgments, in order to protect the goods of the church. Hear the cardinal ;—"To this purpose tend most of the stories related in the collections of the miracles of St. Martin, St. Benedict, &c. As if they who became saints by despising riches on earth, were become fond of them after they were in heaven, and employed their credit with God to revenge themselves on those who plundered the treasures of their churches."—*Discourse on Eccles. Hist. from A. D. 600 to 1100.*

ing impression. After this, the kingdom of the Lombards, which had subsisted for nearly two centuries, languished, betraying frequent symptoms of irritability, for about twenty years, when it was swallowed up in the empire of Charlemagne. Pepin died of a slow fever in the fifty-fourth year of his age and seventeenth of his reign, A. D. 768. He was the son of Charles Martel, the heroic saviour of Christendom, and the father of Charlemagne, the restorer of the western empire and the foster-father of the church. Though, as to his stature, he was known by the epithets *le bref*, and *le petit*, his endowments and actions were sufficiently noble to entitle him to a niche in the temple of fame, even if he had not been the son of Pepin, nor yet the father of Charlemagne. His greatness, however, was eclipsed ; all eyes were directed to the rising sun ; and his tombstone bore this simple inscription ;—*Here lies the father of Charlemagne.**

The reign of this prince is entitled to a conspicuous place in the annals of persecution, not so much on account of its being charged with overt acts of intolerance, as for its having cherished the

* There is scarcely another instance in the annals of nations of three such men, such princes, and such warriors, as Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne, following each other ; and if the rest of the history of France should be forgotten, this part of it ought to be remembered. If Martel could have known that his virtues and fortune would descend, with accumulation, to his son and grandson, he must have felt a joy which experience would allow few fathers to indulge.

power and furnished the means. A spirit of policy and intrigue had supplanted the spirit of religion ; and in the capitularies of Charlemagne, we must look for many of those springs of ecclesiastical power which diffused their deleterious streams through the institutions of Europe in succeeding centuries.

The reign of Charlemagne, like that of Constantine, deserves to be scrutinized with the utmost care and rigour by the student of history. It is replete with events of the greatest moment, which will give various interest, and excite different trains of thought, according to the aspect in which they are viewed. In respect to the splendor of his public acts, and his spirited efforts to banish barbarism and promote science, the reign of Charlemagne presents, in the wild waste of ages, a brilliant and interesting object. It is, to the reader of history, what a verdant *oasis*, in the midst of an African desert, is to the traveller ; or it is like the gay illusions of an enchanted castle, rising, in dazzling pomp, amidst the wilds of some dreary solitude.

The imposing epithet *great* has been added to the names of several illustrious princes ; but the singular honour of having it interwoven indissolubly with the texture of his name, was reserved for the restorer of the western empire.

In the present day, there are thousands of men in humble situations, who have received a better education than was enjoyed by this great patron of learning. But notwithstanding the ignorance

[in which he was trained up, Charles had a vigorous understanding, and a bold and manly genius. And if he knew not how to write his own illustrious name, it is so much the more to his credit, that he converted his palace into a seminary and patronized learning.

The character of this prince is of a mixed kind ; and the reason of his being put in the calendar and Alfred left out, was not that the latter was a man of inferior virtue, but of inferior power and riches. But while Charlemagne wanted some of the virtues of Alfred, he had some of the vices which, in after ages, characterized Henry VIII. The great Alfred was twelve years of age before a master could be found to teach him the alphabet. But he was no sooner initiated in the first rudiments of literature, than he displayed such ardour to improve himself and others, that if he had not risen to eminence as a soldier and a prince, he would as a philosopher and philanthropist. It may, however, be considered as some diminution of the fame of Alfred, and augmentation of the merit of Charlemagne, that the former had the advantage of the latter's example.

But if weighed in the balances of clemency, justice, and piety, the scale preponderates in favour of Alfred. Charlemagne indulged freely in polygamy and concubinage, and was otherwise not overstrict in his morals. The works of piety, for which he is so greatly extolled by the clergy, consisted chiefly in making indiscreet and pernicious augmentations of their authority and riches.

In adding to the estates of the clergy, Charlemagne followed the example of his father ; and father and son were too expert as politicians, not to be on the alert for an equivalent, or, in the language of diplomacy, a *quid pro quo*. Thus, priests and princes played into each other's hands, and religion and liberty were staked upon the game.

The results of that confederacy which was formed between the church and the state, were different from what either party anticipated. It is not to be supposed that either Constantine or Charlemagne designed to embarrass their successors in civil magistracy ; and, it is to be hoped, that the clergy who favoured their designs and courted their patronage, did not intend to bring religion into contempt. Yet who will deny, that such were some of the consequences of their arrangements ?

The arm of Charlemagne was braced with strength to assert his supremacy ; but he ought to have considered, that his sons might not be able to wield the sword with equal energy. By means of his ill-judged concessions and liberality, the see of Rome was enabled to tyrannise over his children, and over the laws of nations and of nature. The chair of St. Peter became the seat of a ghostly despotism, of the most formidable and pernicious description. The popes, in place of being protected by the awfulness of wisdom and sanctity, were surrounded with troops of soldiers ;

and the church, revelling in the sunshine of imperial favour, and in the corruption of idleness and opulence, became the Alma Mater of secret deism and open impiety.

Riches and adulation caused mental imbecility and looseness of morals among all orders of ecclesiastics. The understanding was neglected; reason was discarded; and fanatical superstition was encouraged; juggling homilies on the miracles of saints, the payment of tythes, and the virtues of relics, were substituted in the place of rational expositions of theological doctrines and duties. The spell of a stupid uniformity bound the nations in deep slumber, and though the rare achievements of a few illustrious princes, roused and agitated, for a while, the public mind, it soon relapsed into its former supineness.

It has appeared to some unaccountable, that a prince so superior to the timidity of superstition as Charlemagne, should have been so lavish in his distributions to the clergy. The reasons of his conduct must be sought for in his policy, rather than in his religion.

The Franks and Germans, prior to their conversion to christianity, had been patient of the authority of their priests. With them, the flamen was held in greater veneration than the prince; and without his permission and concurrence, nothing of moment, either civil or military, could be undertaken. When these rude idolators took upon themselves the profession of christiani-

ty, they thought proper to transfer to the officers of their adopted religion, the authority and prerogatives which they had aforetime conceded to the ministers of their idols; and there is not much reason to think, that this foul innovation on the purity of the christian institute, met with any very serious and determined opposition from its ministers. Churches and monasteries were often endowed with such grants and fiefs as are peculiar to princes, and called *regalia*, or royal domains. Hence bishops and abbots were often at the head of fortified cities and castles, with all the attributes of sovereignty annexed to them; and hence it came to pass, that men, whose profession required an averseness to war and worldly pomp, were frequently examples of secular ambition and warlike magnificence. They not only gave laws to their numerous dependents, but battle to their enemies.

The kings of Europe, anxious to secure and extend their dominions, distributed among their vassals territories and cities, reserving to themselves the supreme command, together with a claim to military service. It thus became a piece of political finesse, to confer on the ministers of the church, the same bribes as were given to generals and barons, in order to secure the benefits of their influence and co-operation. Moreover, it was expected that men set apart to the immediate service of God, and bound by the solemn obligations of religion, would evince more submis-

sion and fidelity than proud and haughty nobles ; while the magic wand of spiritual authority would be used, with the happiest effect, in curbing the licentious boldness of the turbulent and seditious.

Mr. Gibbon says, that Charlemagne's "esteem for the piety and knowledge of the clergy tempted him to entrust that aspiring order with temporal dominion and civil jurisdiction." It does not appear to me that he was influenced so much by considerations of *what they were*, as of *what they could do*. He thought to attach them to himself and to his successors by the ties of gratitude, and to avail himself of the veneration in which they were held for overawing the factious spirits of rebellious laymen.

But we must specify more formally and precisely, the accessions made to the opulence and authority of the church under the reign of Charlemagne. After the death of Pepin, Dideric, king of the Lombards, renewed his claim to the exarchate of Ravenna. On this emergency Adrian I. who had been exalted to the chair of St. Peter, had recourse to the generous son of the late king, who lent a ready ear to the complaints and intreaties of the venerable suppliant, crossed the Alps with a numerous army, sent Dideric into exile, and proclaimed himself king of the Lombards. The march of Charlemagne into Italy gave him an opportunity of visiting Rome, where he not only confirmed the grant of his father, but also made an addition of several provinces

and cities not contained in that grant. The precise number of the towns, and the exact limits of the territories, thus assigned to the see of Rome, furnished the materials of controversy and negociation between the popes and the emperors, in after ages.

The dominion of the pope in Italy, formed a complete *imperium in imperio*; for Charlemagne not only reserved to himself the prerogatives of supreme controul in civil affairs, but also the power of convening councils, and the right of presiding in them, either in person or by a representative. The election of a pontiff was not valid except confirmed by the emperor; it was also in his power to appoint judges to inspect the lives of the clergy, to take cognizance of their disputes, and punish their misconduct. The churches also were obliged to contribute to the public treasury, according to the extent of their possessions, except exempted by royal favour. Thus, the spiritual and secular powers were awkwardly dovetailed into one another; and it is easy to see how pregnant with discord and anarchy would be their jarring pretensions. The munificence of Charlemagne could not but excite, at least, a transient glow of thankfulness, and the terrors of his mighty name produced awe and acquiescence; but, in a short time after his decease, ambitious pontiffs endeavoured, not only to emancipate themselves from the restraints of imperial superintendance, but also to establish

their supremacy over the kings and kingdoms of Europe and the world.

It is with the church as with every other miser, her wants encrease with her possessions. She was so far from being satisfied with the ample grants of Constantine, and of succeeding princes, who followed the same line of policy, that she adopted scandalous forgeries in order to encrease her power and wealth. Hence, the spurious "Donation of Constantine to Sylvester and the bishops of Rome," alluded to by Adrian in a letter to Charlemagne, and alluded to, not as an impudent fiction, but as a veracious document, deposited in the sacred archives of the Lateran.*

* "In this pretended act, Constantine is made to declare his intention to be, not only that the see of Rome should have the supremacy over those of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople; but that the pontifical throne should be exalted, gloriously, above the imperial, (*amplius quam nostrum imperium terrenumque thronum sedem sacratissimam Beatissimi Petri gloriose exaltare.*) He is made to give his palace of Lateran, his diadem, and all his imperial ornaments, to Sylvester, and the popes his successors. He is made to constitute the inferior clergy, servants of the Roman church, in the ranks of patricians and consuls. In short, he is made to say, in express terms, that he yields and abandons to Sylvester, the universal pope, and the pontiffs his successors, the city of Rome, and all the provinces, places, and towns of Italy, or the occidental regions: and for this reason he thinks it congruous, or proper, to transfer his empire into the east; since it is not just that an earthly emperor should reign where the prince of priests, and the head of the christian religion is established by the emperor of heaven."

After the decease of Adrian I. Leo III. was raised to the first dignity of the western church. The elevation of this man to the papal dignity, was followed by a furious explosion of those passions which are generally attendant on rivalry and competition, when a great prize is pursued. A nephew of Adrian, enraged at not being chosen to succeed his uncle, headed a desperate faction, which assaulted the sacred person of the pope, as he was walking in solemn procession, in honour of the festival of St. Mark, and endeavoured to put out his eyes and cut out his tongue. Leo escaped with much less injury than his enemies intended, and as soon as he was sufficiently recovered from the contusions he had received in the affray, set off to France, to lay his grievances before Charlemagne. He was treated with much kindness and respect by that prince, who also promised to administer justice where the outrage had taken place. The next year Charlemagne fulfilled his engagement. Leo was permitted to clear himself by oath of some accusations which had been brought against him. The conspirators were next tried and convicted; but the punishment of death, to which they were sentenced, was commuted into exile, at the intercession of Leo. These events took place in November; the following month, at the festival of Christmas, A. D. 800, Charlemagne appeared in the church of St. Peter, habited in the long tunic and cloak of a Roman patrician, when, after, the celebra-

tion of the sacred service, Leo suddenly placed a richly ornamented crown on his head, and the church resounded with the acclamations of the people, *Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans.* Thus Leo acknowledged and requited the favours of his illustrious benefactor; and the western empire, under the auspices of a grateful and politic priest, and a generous and heroic prince, rose from her ruins, like the Phenix from her ashes.

The coronation of Charlemagne was followed by the ceremony of unction, after the example of jewish kings, and by that of adoration, after the pattern of pagan emperors. Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, who also wrote his life, states, that his royal master seemed no way elated by the addition made to his honours, and that he affirmed, in a familiar conversation, *that had he known the intentions of Leo, he would have disappointed them.* Be this as it may, he required to be recognized in his new dignity by his enemies, as well as his friends, and made prompt and vigorous preparations to assert his imperial prerogatives in opposition to Nicephorus, the emperor of the east.

By the coronation of Charlemagne as *empêror of the west*, the bishops of Rome were released from the controul of the emperors of the east, the ancient pride of the western capital was no longer wounded by subordination to the Byzan-

fine metropolis, and the church acquired an advocate who could enforce the counsels of wisdom with the power of the sword, the *ultima ratio regum*.

Charlemagne's office of *advocate of the church* was no sinecure, and he sustained the cause of his interesting client with much zeal and diligence, though not with the best effect. He made some efforts to obstruct the torrent of superstition which was covering her with filth and deformity. He holds a respectable rank among the writers of his age on account of a treatise, called the *Caroline books*, in which he opposed the worship of images. He restrained the multiplication of festivals, and prohibited the childish ceremony of consecrating bells. He directed certain portions of scripture to be read and expounded in the churches, and caused the learned Alcuin to compile homilies, or discourses on the epistles and gospels, to be committed to memory by the priests, and recited to the people. As an instance of this prince's supremacy in the church, may be mentioned his condemning Felix, bishop of Urgella, on account of his heterodox speculations concerning the Trinity, and sending him into exile to Lyons where he died. There is also preserved a letter written by Charlemagne to Odilbert, archbishop of Metz, which displays his assiduous care and anxiety for the success of his plans to promote instruction and piety. "We have often wished," says he, "to converse with you and your colleagues familiarly on the utility

of the holy church of God. But although we are not ignorant of the real concern with which you watch over divine things, yet we must not omit, while we trust in the co-operating influence of the Holy Spirit, *by our authority to exhort and admonish you to labour in word and doctrine in the church of God, more and more studiously, and with watchful perseverance*; so that by your pious diligence the word of God may spread and flourish extensively, and the number of christian people may be multiplied, to the praise and glory of our Saviour. Wherefore we desire to know in writing, or from your own mouth, in what manner you and your clergy teach and instruct both those who are candidates for the holy office of the ministry, and the people committed to you in the sacrament of baptism."

Charlemagne died A. D. 814, at Aix-la-chapelle, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-sixth of his reign. His empire embraced the most considerable parts of Europe, extending from the Ebro to the Elbe, and from the south of Italy to the confines of Denmark. The energy of his character, the prosperity of his arms, the extent of his dominions, and the length of his reign, attracted the reverence of distant nations, and secured the submission and alliance of neighbouring princes. The wide realms over which he presided were awed and animated by the weight of his authority, and the vigour of his genius. The shining honours of his wisdom

and magnificence held back, for a while, the gloom of the dark ages.

This great prince was as amiable in his family, as he was illustrious on the throne and in the field. Except on occasions of set formality, he was familiar in his behaviour, and simple in his dress. He reproved his nobles for their ostentatious finery. "For shame!" said he, "learn to dress like men, and let the world judge of your rank by your merit, not your habit. Leave silks and finery to women, or reserve them for those days of pomp and ceremony when robes are worn for show, not use."

Economy is one source of munificence; and it is remarkable that while Charlemagne was liberal to excess in rewarding meritorious industry, and in distributing riches and honours to encourage learning and piety, he did not think it beneath him to make regulations for the sale of eggs and vegetables on his farms. While he gave bread to thousands, he was careful that even the fragments of his ample resources should not be lost.

His public works and projects bespeak the energy and beneficence of a great mind; he established schools and encouraged genius; (as to arts, there were none in the west except the foul arts of deception, and they were engrossed by the church;) he opened roads, and built bridges; and formed the splendid design of giving facilities to commerce, by connecting the Danube with the Rhine, and opening, thereby, a communi-

cation between the Black sea, and the German ocean.

The mistakes he committed in policy were those of a generous heart disposed to think too well of mankind, and to over-rate the practical influence of religious professions and vows. His son, the Debonair, when stripped and degraded by the bishops, might blame, in some measure, the imprudent generosity of his father. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the estates he conferred on the pope were not great when compared with those of other princes; but when taken in conjunction with his spiritual pretensions, they were great enough to set him high, in a superstitious age, above all other authorities.

But what shall be said of his war of conquest in Germany, carried on for three and thirty years, with sanguinary perseverance, and closed by the decapitation of four thousand five hundred Saxons, whose valour in defence of their native woods deserved a better fate, and whose crime, if a crime it was, in refusing to give up their heroic chief, merited not such a punishment. When it is considered that the Saxons were not a part of the liege subjects of Charlemagne, but an independent people, struggling for the savage freedom that had descended to them from their ancestors, this act of ferocity stands without a parallel, even in the guilty records of war. Yet if there is any truth in history, Charlemagne was

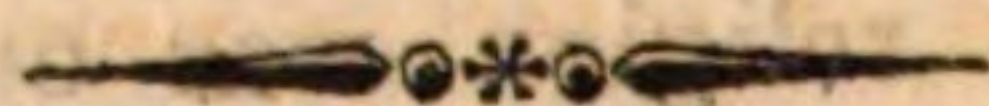
far removed from constitutional cruelty ; but he who, to obtain wealth or dominion, makes fighting his profession, levies war against the best properties of his own nature, and will find it expedient to liberate himself from the scruples of justice and the feelings of humanity.

It is said that a desire of converting the Saxons to the christian religion was one motive that urged Charlemagne to his several expeditions into their country ; and yet the most cruel and unchristian part of his public conduct was his harsh treatment of those people, whom he wished to inspire with a high respect for his religion.

One would imagine that in the judgment of this prince, conversion to christianity was nothing more than implicit submission to the requirements of regal authority. For he not only destroyed the pagan gods, but required their worshippers to receive baptism, under pain of death. If the untutored and reluctant proselyte ventured to renounce his baptism, or to eat meat in lent, he was subject to as severe a punishment as if he had murdered a priest or a bishop. Thus while Charlemagne demolished the rude idols of German superstition, he contributed to set up and fortify the demon of ecclesiastical tyranny, whose dark orgies have disgraced the christian name, and at whose bloody shrine many a noble victim has been slain.

CHAPTER X.

Historical Remarks and Disquisitions connecting the preceding Chapters with modern times.



SECTION I.

On the progressive advancement of ecclesiastical power.

I AM aware of the probability there is that this chapter will disappoint the expectations of some of my readers. It will seem strange to them, that a whole chapter should be devoted to the age of Constantine, a second to the infancy and early advances of Mohammedism, and a considerable part of a third to the reign of Charlemagne ; while subsequent centuries, charged with the atrocious acts of persecuting zeal and folly, are much less minutely examined. Yet this arrangement has not been adopted through want of care and deliberation. To detail all the acts of intolerance, which are found on record, would be to write a general, if not an universal, history. In such a detail also, there would be too great a preponderance of revolting incidents to render the narrative agreeable. My object, therefore, has not been so much to glean up every fact allied to persecution, as to disclose the sources, define the limits, and trace

the progress, of the power and of the institutions from which these facts have emanated. To know things in their causes, is the highest and most useful kind of knowledge. Greater certainty and satisfaction also are attainable in this way than in any other. For while the tempers and dispositions of princes and prelates are as various and as fluctuating as those of inferior persons, their laws, rescripts, and legislative institutions, may be regarded as permanent and faithful monuments of their policy and administration.

Prejudices and exceptions against the christian religion lurk in the minds of many, on account of its history and its nature being so much at variance. They see that a dispensation, characterized by its tendency to promote peace and philanthropy in the earth, has, in fact, been connected with discord and contention, and that the combatants in this impious warfare have often proceeded to the last extremities of hatred and violence. But it argues a sad want of reflection, to load christianity with the infamy of nefarious acts, performed in direct opposition to its precepts. Any candid enquirer will allow, that this is no less unreasonable and absurd, than it would be to blame the sun for the fogs, which intercept his rays. When the mists are blown aside, the orb of day is as potent and glorious as ever. And when the moral hemisphere is cleared from the pestilential mists and vapours of ignorance and superstition, christianity shall shine forth in its pure and original ele-

ments, and present a body of truth fit, not only to reclaim the foolish and profligate, but also to enlighten the wise, and improve the good.

If a comparison is instituted between the simple doctrines and worship of the gospel, while in its pristine purity, and what it came to be in the middle ages, it will be seen that a most important transmutation had taken place. This transmutation was a work of time, of labour, and of artifice. A dexterous use was made of all the incidents which transpired in the negociations of popes and princes; and that which, in the first instance, was conceded as an act of favour, or courtesy, was afterwards claimed as a hereditary and indefeasible right.

A proud and aspiring spirit entered into many of the bishops before the Roman emperors abandoned paganism. Under Constantine, this spirit held a free and successful course. But at that time and long after, the powers and privileges vested in the christian profession were much divided. The great cities of the east, as Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, preserved the balance of power against the capital of the west. The bishops and patriarchs of these great and opulent sees were at once a stimulus and a check to each other. Nothing final could be done in any important article of faith or discipline without the convocation of a general council; and it was necessary that the definitions and decisions of the council should be confirmed by the authority

of the prince in whose name it was called and in whose dominions it was held. It was then expected that all men should yield obedience to the decrees of a council as though to the behests of heaven. The attributes supposed to reside in these ecclesiastical parliaments were afterwards assumed by the bishops of Rome. The ample possessions, and great authority, of these lordly prelates so inflated them with pride, that they began to claim an exemption from the infirmities of mortals, and to proceed to the wildest eccentricities of arrogance. They not only presumed to represent themselves as the accredited vicars of Christ, but also to usurp powers and establish a jurisdiction to which he never pretended, and to utter big words about an empire of theirs, as much superior to all earthly dominion as the heavens are higher than the earth.

About the middle of the ninth century, the papal chair was occupied by Nicholas I. whom his own clergy accused of making himself emperor of the world. This ambitious priest received appeals from all ecclesiastics who were dissatisfied with their bishops, however remote, and however little he knew of their affairs, and he thereby accustomed them to acknowledge a supreme tribunal, at a distance from their own country.

Nicholas I. was succeeded by Adrian II. who inherited the pride and pursued the policy of his predecessor. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims,

opposed the measures of this pontiff in a bold and manly remonstrance, in which he desired him to call to mind the respect and submission which had always been paid to princes, and to reflect that his sacerdotal dignity gave him no right over the government of kingdoms; that he could not be at the same time both pope and king; that the choice of a sovereign belongs to the people; that anathemas, ill applied, have no effect upon the soul; and that free men are not to be enslaved by a bishop of Rome. But the reason and eloquence of Hincmar were baffled by the deadly, but well circumstanced, superstition of the age. In the year 879, a council was held at Troyes in France, under the pontificate of John VIII. in which it was decreed, that the secular powers should not dare to seat themselves in the presence of the spiritual, unless desired.

Many causes contributed to aggrandise Rome as the seat of spiritual empire. To several of these we have already adverted; there are a few others which we shall slightly notice.

The rank of each episcopal see was estimated according to the political consequence of the place in which it was established. In the hierarchy there was a gradation of office and dignity corresponding with the official situations and dignities of the state. In the east, there were several cities of sufficient importance to curb the rising presumption of Constantinople. There was no lack of pride to hinder the patriarch of that upstart metropolis from aspiring after catholic empire. But

his brother patriarchs of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus, would have called the gentleman to order. In the west there was no such restraint. Paris and London were in their infancy, unconscious of their destined glory. Ravenna, Tours, and Milan, were insignificant in comparison with Rome. Moreover, the genius of the western nations is best adapted to prosecute any great object which requires deep policy and long application. The superstition also of the orientals, being of a lively and disputatious cast, was less adapted to succumb to the yoke of despotism, than that of the occidentals, which was more sleepy and quiescent.

One manœuvre which contributed to the pre-eminence of Rome, was the encouraging of appeals. Until the right of receiving these appeals was confirmed by long custom, the decision of the pontiff was in almost every instance given in favour of the appellant. Most of the appeals were made by ecclesiastics who had been degraded by their superiors.

Another act of policy of the same tendency with the encouraging of appeals was the appointment of legates or papal vicars. The first who held this office was Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica, near the close of the fourth century. In the reign of Theodosius, Dacia and Greece were disjoined from the western, and added to the eastern, empire. The philosopher's stone, famed for turning every thing into gold, is nothing more than the

base and selfish maxim of *getting all you can, and keeping all you get*. The bishops of Rome, acting on the latter part of this maxim, claimed the right of jurisdiction over the province of Dacia, even after it had been ceded by Gracian to Theodosius, and, in the exercise of this right, appointed a legate or representative. It would seem that the pontiff Damasus had some notion of a spiritual monarchy, which, like a short lived republic of modern times, should be *one and indivisible*. Cæsar might divide and curtail his own dominion if he pleased, but let him not touch that of the church. The policy of Damasus was improved and perfected in after ages, when the legates of the pope were received in the cabinets of Europe, as the ambassadors of a sovereign prince, and dreaded as the ministers of papal vengeance. No principality, except one founded in liberty and justice, can rise to eminence and be permanent, without the aid of a policy which shall give scope to the ambition, and incentives to the industry, of great and enterprising men. The institution of legates was a measure precisely of this nature and tendency.

Another step, by which the authority of the bishops of Rome advanced, was the license they took of releasing ecclesiastics, and ecclesiastical communities from subjection to their ordinary. In the exercise of this license, they could exempt a bishop from the controul of the archbishop, and priors and abbots from that of the

bishop. It thus came to pass that most of the monastic fraternities and learned associations were under the immediate government and protection of the pope; and what could they do less, than endeavour to consolidate the power, and augment the magnificence, of their venerable patron and protector?

The opulence of the church was also a source of power. For influence will always follow riches, as the shadow the sun.

Leo the third, says Fleury, “covered the pavement of the tomb of St. Peter, with as much gold as weighed 453 pounds. At the entry of the sanctuary he made a balustrade of silver, of 1573 pounds. He rebuilt the baptistery of St. Andrew, large and round, with founts in the middle surrounded with pillars of porphyry. In the midst of the founts was a pillar, and on it a silver lamb, which poured out water. He adorned the windows of the church of Lateran with painted glass; and this is the first mention that is made of such glass. The gold that was employed on these occasions amounted to more than 800 pounds, and the silver to more than 21,000 pounds, that is Roman pounds of twelve ounces.” The pontificate of Leo lasted twenty years; and the cardinal supposes, that the means of this great liberality were furnished by the offerings of Charlemagne and other princes and pilgrims.

In the tenth century, a general panic prevailed in consequence of an apprehension that the day of judgment was at hand. This fearful expectation arose from a mistaken view of the first paragraph in the 20th chapter of the Apocalypse. The thousand years, of Satan's bondage were understood of the first thousand years after Christ's advent; but we have already adverted to facts which afford sufficient evidence either that Satan was not bound, or otherwise that it was still in his power, to administer his government with much ability and success, through the medium of his emissaries. Whether the clergy encouraged the terrifying belief of Christ's speedy approach to judge the world, I will not take upon me to say; but it is certain that they were ample gainers by it. The most opulent of the laity, who are often the most guilty, struck with terror and consternation at the remembrance of their transgressions, and at the thought of the divine displeasure, were eager to be good merchants for once, and to part with their vast estates, which would so soon be useless, in order to obtain a seasonable reversion in the world to come. Perhaps it was imagined that the general conflagration would respect the property of the church; otherwise it is astonishing that it did not occur to these penitents, that it was not worth the church's while to acquire, what it was not worth while to keep.

We are told that, *they who will be rich fall into divers snares*. Kindred evils attend the pursuit of power. In either case the object is often obtained at the expence of what no money can purchase, no power command. As the church became infected with the sordid lust of lucre and dominion, the bloom and beauty of innocence departed. The most sacred things were profaned, and the most profane things were consecrated, in order that they might minister to the unhallowed purposes of priestly ambition and cupidity. It would seem that the policy of Cæsar, which required that if justice was violated, it should be violated for the sake of dominion, never forsook Rome. While she was pagan, she was enriched with the wealth of subject realms, and invested with magnificence as the queen of nations; and now that she was despoiled of the proud trophies of her former grandeur and pre-eminence, and her eagles no longer soared on high in the political hemisphere, she would erect her throne on the ashes of a martyr, and reign over the living by virtue of the dead.

Five or six centuries after the death of Peter, it was unfortunately discovered, that that apostle was a *rock*, on which the rising structure of papal supremacy might securely rest. Before this ill-omened event, the primacy of the bishop of Rome had been accepted as an honour conceded by courtesy, or as a distinction emanating from the political consequence of the city; but

these sources of pre-eminence were no longer adequate to the growing demands of papal ambition; the mutable decrees of councils, and the precarious favours of princes were made to yield to a *jure divino* claim to empire; Peter rose above his peers as the *prince* of the apostles, and the world resounded with, *Thou art Peter and upon this rock—**

There is another passage in the evangelists which also served, by a forced interpretation, to justify the enormous demands of ecclesiastical ambition. “They said, Lord, behold here are two swords. And he said, it is enough.” Why were there neither more nor less than two? The reason is obvious—because there are two sorts of power deposited in the church, the temporal and spiritual, signified by two swords. But how is it proved that these are entrusted to the pope?

* Under the pontificate of Gelasius, at the end of the fifth century, a synod was called, consisting chiefly of Italian bishops, in which it was decreed, in direct opposition to common sense, and historical evidence, “That it was not to any councils or the decrees of any, that the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church owed her primacy, but to the words of our Saviour, saying, in the gospel, “Thou art Peter, &c.” and thereby building the church upon him as on a rock which nothing could shake; that the Roman church, not having spot or wrinkle, was consecrated and exalted above all other churches, by the presence as well as by the death, martyrdom, and glorious triumph of the two chief apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who suffered at Rome under Nero, not at different times as the heretics say, but at the same time.”

It is proved thus—The pope, being the successor of St. Peter, is invested with the prerogatives of that apostle. That the swords were in the charge of Peter is evident, in as much as he used one of them in striking off the ear of Malchus, the servant of the high priest; and as it is certain he possessed that sword which maims the body, there can be no doubt that he also possessed that which pierces the soul, for to him were given the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*

* The passage below will serve first, as an elaborate attempt to distinguish civil and ecclesiastical power, and secondly, as a fine specimen of that declamation which in the days of Chrysostom supplied the place of genuine eloquence.—

Isaiah vi. i. *I saw the Lord upon a high throne.*

Uzziah, says the preacher, went into the Holy of Holies to offer incense; being king, he could usurp the priesthood; I will, said he, burn incense, for I am worthy.

O ye princes keep within the limits of your own power; the bounds of ecclesiastical power differ from those of secular government. The king rules over earthly things; the church's jurisdiction relates to heavenly goods. God hath committed to kings the things of the earth, and to me those of heaven: when I say *to me*, I mean to priests. So that, although the priest prove unworthy of his office, yet you ought not to despise the dignity of the priesthood. God hath made the body subject to kings, and the soul to priests. The king pardons corporal offences, but the priest remits sins. The one compels, and the other exhorts; the one imposes a law, the other gives counsel; one uses spiritual weapons, the other sensible arms; one wages war against barbarians, and the other against devils. But the ecclesiastical power is the nobler of the two; wherefore the king receives the priest's blessing, and in the old law, the priests anointed the kings.—*Dupin's Biblioth. Vol. I. 306.*

“ The popes, it must be confessed, followed the prejudices of their own times, and carried farther than others the exercise of censures, because of the authority of their see, great in itself, and extended beyond its ancient bounds by the false decretals. The most eminent popes, and the most zealous to re-establish the discipline of the church and the honour of the holy see, after the disorders of the tenth century, departed more and more from the ancient moderation, of which they were ignorant, or which they judged not suitable to their own times ; and at last Gregory VII. augmented the rigour of censures beyond any thing that had been practised before. This pope, naturally bold and daring, and bred up in a strict monastic discipline, had an ardent zeal to purge the church of all the vices with which he saw it infected, particularly of the simony and incontinence of the cler-

Thus, the patriarch of Constantinople ; let us now hear the sentiments of Symmachus, bishop of Rome, addressed to the emperor of the east. “ Let us compare,” says he, “ the dignity of a bishop with that of an emperor. There is as great a difference between them as between the things of this earth, whereof the latter has the administration, and the things of heaven, whereof the former is the dispenser. O prince ! you receive baptism from the bishop, he gives you the sacraments, you desire of him prayers, you wait for his blessing, and you address yourself to him, that you may be put under penance. In a word, you govern the affairs of men, and he dispenses the blessings of heaven. Wherefore the office of a bishop is at least equal, if not superior, to yours.” *Quod erat demonstrandum.—Ibid Vol. I. 527.*

gy. But in an age of darkness he had not all the knowledge that was requisite to regulate his zeal ; and taking false appearances for solid truths, he without hesitation deduced from them the most dangerous consequences. His grand principle was, that a superior is obliged to punish all the crimes that come to his cognizance, under the penalty of being himself an accomplice by his forbearance ; and in his letters he is ever repeating the words of the prophet ; Cursed is he who doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully ; and cursed is he who keepeth back his sword from blood ; that is, who doth not execute the commands of God in punishing God's enemies. On this foundation, when a bishop was accused to him, as guilty of simony, or of some other crime, he immediately cited him to Rome. If he failed of appearing for the first time, he suspended him ; if for a second time, he excommunicated him ; if he persisted contumacious, he deposed him, forbade his clergy and his flock to obey him under pain of excommunication, commanded them to choose another, and if they failed to do it, appointed another himself. Thus he proceeded against Guibert archbishop of Ravenna, who paid him in kind, and caused himself to be elected pope by king Henry. I am terrified when I see in the letters of Gregory censures poured out so profusely all around him, and such a multitude of bishops deposed every where, in Lombardy, in Germany, and in France.

The worst of all was that he would needs enforce his spiritual with temporal punishments, which was no part of his office. Others had tried this, and I have observed to you how the bishops had implored the aid of the secular arm, to compel sinners to penance, and how the popes, above two hundred years before, had begun their attempts to regulate, by their own authority, the rights of crowns. Gregory VII. followed those new maxims, and pushed them much farther, openly pretending, that as pope, he had a right to depose all sovereigns who rebelled against the church. These pretensions he grounded principally upon the power of excommunicating. Excommunicated persons are to be shunned, no commerce is to be held with them, and it is not lawful to speak to them, or even to bid them God speed, as says the apostle. Therefore an excommunicated prince is to be abandoned by all the world, none must obey him, receive his orders, or even approach him. He stands excluded from all society with all christians. It is true that Gregory never made any decision upon this point: the providence of God did not permit it. He never pronounced in form, in any council, or by any decretal, that the pope had authority to depose kings. But he took it for granted, as he did many other maxims equally groundless, and began by acts and deeds.

Acknowledged it must be, that these maxims being generally received, the defenders of Henry took refuge in affirming that a sovereign prince could not lawfully be excommunicated. But it

was easy for Gregory to shew that the powers of binding and loosing were given to the apostles in general terms, without exception of persons, and therefore comprehended kings as well other christians. The mischief was that he carried his inferences beyond all bounds, contending that the church having a right to judge of things spiritual, had certainly still more right to judge of things temporal; that the smallest exorcist was superior to an emperor, since he exercised authority even over evil spirits; that regal dominion was the work of the devil, founded upon human pride, but that priesthood is the work of God; lastly, that the lowest virtuous christian is more truly a king than any wicked monarch, because such a prince is not a king but a tyrant; a maxim advanced by Nicolas I. and borrowed, it should seem, from the Apocryphal book of the apostolical constitutions, where it is found in express words. A tolerable sense might be put upon it, if it were taken for a hyperbolical expression, as when we say of a very wicked man, that he is not a man. But hyperboles are not to be reduced to practice. Yet upon such grounds as these, Gregory pretended that according to the rules of order, it belonged to the church to distribute sceptres, and to sit in judgment upon princes; and in particular, that all christian kings were vassals to the church of Rome, and obliged to take an oath of allegiance to her, and to pay her tribute.”*

* Cardinal Fleury's Discourse on Eccles. Hist. from 600 to 1100. Tome xiii. 182—185.

If the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power was idle and nugatory in the nature and relations of things, it was otherwise in the policy of popes. It lulled suspicion, and afforded room and opportunity for calling in the aid of subtle casuistry and bombastic eloquence, to confound the reason and impose on the credulity of the ignorant and unwary.

“After bishops became lords and had a share in the government of the state,” says cardinal Fleury, “they imagined that as bishops they possessed the rights which they only had as lords. They pretended to judge kings, not only in their penitential tribunals, but in their councils; and kings, little skilled in their own rights, submitted to this usage. The ceremony of coronation, introduced after the middle of the eighth century, served also for a pretext; and the bishops, by crowning the king, seemed to give him the kingdom, by an authority derived from God.”*

It is remarkable that Charlemagne seems to have anticipated the seditious use which might be made of his coronation, as a precedent for future times. Hence, on the association of his son Lewis with himself in the empire, he commanded the royal youth, not to receive the crown from the bishop, but to take it off the altar with his own hands, and crown himself.

In tracing the progressive advances of ecclesiastical power, the pontificate of Gregory VII. is

* Discourse on Eccles. Hist. Tome xiii. 20.

entitled to distinguished notice. The name of this turbulent man was Hildebrand ; he was by birth a Tuscan, of mean parentage ; but he “ rose by various steps, from the obscure station of a monk of Clugni, to the rank of archdeacon in the Roman church, and, from the time of Leo IX. who treated him with peculiar marks of distinction, was accustomed to govern the Roman pontiffs by his counsels, which had acquired the highest degree of influence and authority. In the year 1073, and the same day that Alexander was interred, he was raised to the pontificate by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and people, and, consequently, without any regard being paid to the edict of Nicolas II. and his election was confirmed by the approbation and consent of Henry IV. king of the Romans, to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. This prince, indeed, had soon reason to repent of the consent he had given to an election, which became so prejudicial to his own authority, so fatal to the interests and liberties of the church, and so detrimental, in general, to the sovereignty and independence of kingdoms and empires. Hildebrand was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution ; sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage ; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure ;

obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wishful eye, and laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardour, and invincible perseverance; void of all principle, and destitute of every pious and virtuous feeling, he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits, from the dictates of religion or the remonstrances of conscience. Such was the character of Hildebrand, and his conduct was every way suitable to it; for no sooner did he find himself in the papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most odious marks of his tyrannic ambition. Not contented to enlarge the jurisdiction, and to augment the opulence of the see of Rome, he laboured indefatigably to render the universal church subject to the despotic government and the arbitrary power of the pontiff alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, and to exclude them from all part in the management or distribution of the revenues of the church. Nay, this outrageous pontiff went still farther, and impiously attempted to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, and to render their dominions tributary to the see of Rome. Such were the *pious* and *apostolic* exploits that employed the activity of Gregory VII. during his whole life, and which renders his pontificate a continual scene of tumult and bloodshed. Were it necessary to bring any further proofs of

his tyranny and arrogance, his fierce impetuosity and boundless ambition, we might appeal to those famous *sentences*, which are generally called, after him, the *dictates* of Hildebrand, and which shew in a lively manner, the spirit and character of this restless pontiff.

Under the pontificate of Hildebrand, the face of the Latin church was entirely changed, its government subverted, and the most important and valuable of those rights and privileges that had been formerly vested in its councils, bishops, and sacred colleges, were usurped by the greedy pontiff. It is, however, to be observed, that the weight of this tyrannic usurpation did not fall equally upon all the European provinces; several of these provinces preserved some remains of their ancient liberty and independence, in the possession of which a variety of circumstances happily concurred to maintain them.

But, as we insinuated above, the views of Hildebrand were not confined to the erection of an absolute and universal monarchy in the church; they aimed also at the establishment of a civil monarchy equally extensive and despotic; and this aspiring pontiff, after having drawn up a system of ecclesiastical canons for the government of the church, would have introduced also a new code of political laws, had he been permitted to execute the plan he had formed. His purpose was to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to St. Peter, i. e. to the Roman pontiffs,

all the kings and princes of the earth, and to establish at Rome an annual assembly of bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms or sovereign states were to be decided, the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined. This ambitious project met, however, with the warmest opposition, particularly from the vigilance and resolution of the emperors, and also from the British and French monarchs.

That Hildebrand laid this audacious plan is undoubtedly evident, both from his own epistles, and also from other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath which he drew up for the king or emperor of the Romans, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance, shews abundantly the arrogance of his pretensions. But his conduct towards the kingdom of France is worthy of particular notice. It is well known, that whatever dignity and dominion the popes enjoyed was originally derived from the kingdom of France, or, which is the same thing, from the princes of that nation; and yet Hildebrand, or (as we shall hereafter entitle him) Gregory VII. pretended that the kingdom of France was tributary to the see of Rome, and commanded his legates to demand yearly, in the most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute; their demands, however, were treated with contempt, and the tribute was never either acknowledged or offered. Nothing can be more

insolent than the language in which Gregory addressed himself to Philip I. king of France, to whom he recommends an humble and obliging carriage, from this consideration, that both his *kingdom and his soul were under the dominion of St. Peter i. e. his Vicar the Roman pontiff, who had the power to bind and to loose him, both in heaven and upon earth.* Nothing escaped the all-grasping ambition of Gregory ; he pretended that Saxony was a feudal tenure held in subjection to the see of Rome, to which it had been formerly yielded by Charlemagne as a pious offering to St. Peter. He extended also his pretensions to the kingdom of Spain, maintaining in one of his letters that it was the property of the apostolic see from the earliest times of the church, yet acknowledging in another, that the transaction by which the successors of St. Peter had acquired this property, had been lost amongst other ancient records. His claims, however, were more respected in Spain than they had been in France ; for it is proved most evidently by authentic records, that the king of Arragon, and Bernhard, count of Besalu, gave a favourable answer to the demands of Gregory, and paid him regularly an annual tribute ; and their example was followed by other Spanish princes, as we could shew, were it necessary, by a variety of arguments. The despotic views of this lordly pontiff were attended with less success in England, than in any other country. William the Conqueror was a prince of great spirit and re-

solution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as a sovereign and independent monarch ; and accordingly, when Gregory wrote him a letter demanding the arrears of the *Peter-pence*, and at the same time summoning him to do homage for the kingdom of England, as a fief of the apostolic see, William granted the former, but refused the latter with a noble obstinacy, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only and his own sword. Obligated to yield to the obstinacy of the English monarch, whose name struck terror into the boldest hearts, the restless pontiff addressed his imperious mandates where he imagined they would be received with more facility. He wrote circular letters to all the most powerful German princes, to Geusa, king of Hungary, and Sueno, or Swein, king of Denmark, soliciting them to make a solemn grant of their kingdoms and territories to the prince of the apostles, and to hold them under the jurisdiction of his vicar at Rome, as fiefs of the apostolic see. What success attended his demands upon these princes, we cannot say ; but certain it is, that in several places his efforts were effectual, and his *modest* proposals were received with the utmost docility and zeal. The son of Demetrius, king of the Russians, set out for Rome, in consequence of the pontiff's letter, in order to *obtain as a gift from St. Peter, by the hands of Gregory, after professing his subjection and allegiance to the prince of the apostles, the kingdom*, which was to

devolve to him upon the death of his father ; and his *pious request* was readily granted by the officious pope, who was extremely liberal of what did not belong to him. Demetrius Suinimer, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was raised to the rank and prerogatives of royalty by the same pontiff in the year 1076, and solemnly proclaimed king by his legate at Salona, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of two hundred pieces of gold to St. Peter at every Easter festival. This bold step was injurious to the authority of the emperors of Constantinople, who, before this time, comprehended the province of Croatia within the limits of their sovereignty. The kingdom of Poland became also the object of Gregory's ambition, and a favourable occasion was offered for the execution of his iniquitous views ; for Basilaus II. having assassinated Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, the pontiff not only excommunicated him with all the circumstances of infamy that he could invent, but also pulled him from his throne, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken, and, by an express and imperious edict, prohibited the nobles and clergy of Poland from electing a new king, without the consent of the Roman pontiff. Many more examples might be alledged of the phrenetic ambition of Gregory, but those which have been already mentioned are sufficient to excite the indignation of every impartial reader. Had the success of that pontiff been equal to the extent of his insolent views, all

the kingdoms of Europe would have been this day tributary to the Roman see, and its princes the soldiers or vassals of St. Peter, in the person of his pretended vicar upon earth. But though his most important projects were ineffectual, yet many of his attempts were crowned with a favourable issue; for, from the time of his pontificate the face of Europe underwent a considerable change, and the prerogatives of the emperors and other sovereign princes were much diminished. It was, particularly, under the administration of Gregory, that the emperors were deprived of the privilege of ratifying, by their consent, the election of the Roman pontiff; a privilege of no small importance, and which as yet they have never recovered.

The zeal and activity which Gregory employed in extending the jurisdiction of the Roman see, and enriching the patrimony of St. Peter, met, no where, with such remarkable success as in Italy. His intimate familiarity with Mathilda, the daughter of Boniface, duke of Tuscany, and the most powerful and opulent princess in that country (who found by experience that neither ambition nor grace had extinguished the tender passions in the heart of Gregory,) contributed much to this success; for he engaged that princess, after the death of her husband Godfrey, duke of Lorrain, and her mother Beatrix, which happened in the years 1076 and 1077, to settle all her possessions in Italy and elsewhere upon the

church of Rome, and thus to appoint St. Peter and his pretended vicar the heirs of her immense treasures. This rich donation was, indeed, considerably invalidated by the second marriage, which Mathilda contracted, in the year 1089, with Welf, or Guelph, the son of the duke of Bavaria, and that with the consent of the Roman pontiff, Urban II. She, however, renewed it in a solemn manner in the year 1102, about seven years after her separation from her second husband, by which she became again sole mistress of her vast possessions. But notwithstanding this new act, the Roman pontiffs did not remain in the peaceful possession of this splendid inheritance. It was warmly and powerfully disputed first by the emperor Henry V. and afterwards by several other princes; nor were the pontiffs so successful in this contest as to preserve the whole inheritance, though after various struggles and efforts, they remained in the possession of a considerable part of it, which they still enjoy.

The plan that Gregory had formed for raising the church above all human authority, to a state of perfect supremacy and independence, had many kinds of opposition to encounter, but none more insurmountable than that which arose from the two reigning vices of *concubinage* and *simony*, that had infected the whole body of the European clergy. The Roman pontiffs from the time of Stephen IX. had combated, with zeal and vehemence, these monstrous vices but with-

out success, as they were become too inveterate and too universal to be extirpated without the greatest difficulty and the most extraordinary efforts. Accordingly Gregory, in the year 1074, which was the second of his pontificate, exerted himself with much more vigour than his predecessors had done in opposition to the vices already mentioned. For this purpose he assembled a council at Rome, in which all the laws of the former pontiffs against *simony* were renewed and confirmed, and the buying or selling ecclesiastical benefices prohibited in the strictest and severest manner. It was also decreed in the same council, that the sacerdotal order should abstain from marriage; and that such of them as had already wives, or concubines, should immediately dismiss them, or quit the priestly office. These decrees were accompanied with circular letters, written by the pontiff to all the European bishops, enjoining the strictest obedience to the decisions of this solemn council, under the severest penalties. Gregory did not stop here, but sent ambassadors into Germany to Henry IV. king of the Romans, in order to engage that prince to summon a council for the trial and punishment of such ecclesiastics as had been hitherto guilty of simoniacal practices.

These decrees, which were in part equitable and just, and which were, in every respect, conformable with the notions of religion that prevailed in this age, were looked upon by the

people as highly salutary, since they rendered a free election, and not a mercenary purchase, the way to ecclesiastical promotion, and obliged the priests to abstain from marriage, which was absurdly considered as inconsistent with the sanctity of their office. Yet both these decrees were attended with the most deplorable tumults and dissensions, and were fruitful, in their consequences, of innumerable calamities. No sooner was the law concerning the *celibacy of the clergy* published, than the priests, in the several provinces of Europe, who lived in the bonds of marriage with lawful wives, or of lasciviousness with hired concubines, complained loudly of the severity of this council, and excited the most dreadful tumults in the greatest part of the European provinces. Many of these ecclesiastics, especially the Milanese priests, chose rather to abandon their spiritual dignities than their sensual pleasures, and to quit their benefices that they might cleave to their wives. They went still farther : for they separated themselves entirely from the church of Rome, and branded with the infamous name of *Paterini*, i. e. Manicheans, the pontiff and his adherents, who condemned so unjustly the conduct of such priests as entered into the bonds of a lawful and virtuous wedlock. The proceedings of Gregory appeared to the wiser part, even of those who approved of the celibacy of the clergy, unjust and criminal in two respects : First, in that his severity fell indiscriminately, and with equal

fury, upon the virtuous husband and the licentious rake ; that he dissolved, with a merciless hand, the chastest bonds of wedlock, and thus involved husbands and wives, with their tender offspring, in disgrace, perplexity, anguish, and want. The second thing criminal in the measures taken by this pontiff was, that instead of chastising the married priests with wisdom and moderation, and according to the laws of ecclesiastical discipline, whose nature is wholly spiritual, he gave them over to the civil magistrate, to be punished as disobedient and unworthy subjects, with the loss of their substance, and with the most shocking marks of undeserved infamy and disgrace.

This vehement contest excited great tumults and divisions, which, however, were gradually calmed through the length of time, and also by the perseverance of the obstinate pontiff ; nor did any of the European kings and princes concern themselves so much about the marriages of the clergy as to maintain their cause, and thereby to prolong the controversy. But the troubles that arose from the law that regarded the extirpation of *simony* were not so easily appeased ; the tumults it occasioned grew greater from day to day ; the methods of reconciliation more difficult ; and it involved both state and church during several years in the deepest calamities, and in the most complicated scenes of confusion and distress. Henry IV. received indeed graciously the legates of Gregory, and applauded his zeal for the extir-

pation of *simony*; but neither this prince, nor the German bishops, would permit these legates to assemble a council in Germany, or to proceed judicially against those, who, in time past, had been chargeable with simoniacal practices. The pontiff exasperated at this restraint in the execution of his designs, called another council to meet at Rome in the year 1075, in which he pursued his adventurous project with greater impetuosity and vehemence than ever; for he not only excluded from the communion of the church several German and Italian bishops and certain favourites of Henry, whose counsels that prince was said to make use of in the traffic of ecclesiastical dignities, but also pronounced, in a formal edict, *Anathema against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the hands of a layman, as also against those by whom the investiture should be performed.* This decree was every way proper to surprise the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe, who, in consequence of a prevailing custom, had the right of conferring the more important ecclesiastical dignities, and the government of monasteries and convents, of which they disposed in a solemn manner, by the well known ceremony of the *ring* and the *staff*, or *crosier*, which they presented to the candidate on whom their choice fell. This solemn investiture was the main support of that power of creating bishops and abbots, which the European princes claimed as their undoubted right, and the occasion of that corrupt

commerce called *simony*, in consequence of which, ecclesiastical promotion was suddenly sold to the highest bidder; and hence the zeal and ardour of Gregory to annul these investitures, that he might extirpate *simony* on the one hand, and diminish the power of princes in ecclesiastical matters on the other.

In this method of creating bishops and abbots, by presenting to them the *ring* and *crozier*, there were two things that gave particular offence to the Roman pontiffs. The first was, that by this the ancient right of election was totally changed, and the power of choosing the rulers of the church was usurped by the emperors and other sovereign princes, and was confined to them alone. This indeed was the most plausible reason of complaint, when we consider the religious notions of these times, which were by no means favourable to the conduct of the emperors in this matter. Another circumstance that grievously distressed the pretended vicars of St. Peter, was, to see the *ring* and *crozier*, the venerable badges of spiritual authority and ghostly distinction, delivered to the bishop elect by the profane hands of unsanctified laymen; an abuse this, which they looked upon as little better than sacrilege. Humbert, who, as we already observed, wrote his book against simony before the contest between the emperor and Gregory had commenced, complains heavily of this supposed profanation, and shudders to think, that the *staff*

which denotes the ghostly shepherd, and that *ring* which seals the mysteries of heaven, deposited in the bosoms of the episcopal order, should be polluted by the unhallowed touch of a civil magistrate; and that emperors and princes, by presenting them to their favourites, should thereby usurp the prerogatives of the church, and exercise the pastoral authority and power. This complaint was entirely consistent, as we have already observed, with the opinions of the times in which it was made; for as the *ring* and the *crozier* were generally esteemed the marks and badges of pastoral power, and spiritual authority, so he who conferred these sacred badges was supposed to confer and communicate with them the ghostly authority of which they were the emblems.

All these things being duly considered, we shall immediately perceive what it was that rendered Gregory VII. so averse to the pretensions of the emperors, and so zealous in depriving them of the privilege they had assumed of investing the bishops with the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*. In the first council which he assembled at Rome, he made no attempt, indeed, against *investitures*, nor did he aim at any thing farther than the abolition of *simony*, and the restoration of the sacerdotal and monastic orders to their ancient right of electing their respective bishops and abbots. But when he afterwards came to know that the affair of *investitures* was inseparably connected with the pretensions of the emperors,

and indeed supposed them empowered to dispose of the higher ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, he was then persuaded that *simony* could not be extirpated as long as *investitures* were in being: and therefore, to pluck up the evil by the root, he opposed the custom of investitures with the utmost vehemence. All this shews the true rise of the war that was carried on between the pontiff and the emperor with such bitterness and fury.

And to understand still more clearly the merits of this cause, it will be proper to observe, that it was not *investitures*, considered in themselves, that Gregory opposed with such keenness and obstinacy, but that particular kind of investitures which were in use at this time. He did not pretend to hinder the bishops from swearing allegiance to kings and emperors, nor even to become their *vassals*; and so far was he from prohibiting that kind of investiture that was performed by a verbal declaration, or a written deed, that, on the contrary, he allowed the kings of England and France to *invest* in this manner, and probably consented to the use of the *sceptre* in this ceremony, as did also after him Callixtus II. But he could not bear the ceremony of *investiture* that was performed with the ensigns of the sacerdotal order, much less could he endure the performance of the ceremony before the solemn rite of consecration; but what rendered *investitures* most odious to this pontiff, was their destroying entirely the free elections of bishops and abbots.

The severe law that had been enacted against *investitures*, by the influence and authority of Gregory, made very little impression upon Henry. He acknowledged, indeed, that in exposing ecclesiastical benefices to sale, he had done amiss, and he promised amendment in that respect ; but he remained inflexible against all attempts that were made to persuade him to resign his power of creating bishops and abbots, and the right of *investiture*, which was intimately connected with this important privilege. Had this emperor been seconded by the German princes, he might have maintained this refusal with dignity and success ; but this was far from being the case ; a considerable number of these princes, and among others the states of Saxony, were the secret or declared enemies of Henry ; and this furnished Gregory with a favourable opportunity of extending his authority, and executing his ambitious projects. This opportunity was by no means neglected ; the imperious pontiff took occasion, from the discords that divided the empire, to insult and depress its chief ; he sent, by his legates, an insolent message to the emperor at Goslar, ordering him to repair immediately to Rome, and clear himself before the council that was to be assembled there, of the various crimes that were laid to his charge. The emperor, whose high spirit could not brook such arrogant treatment, was filled with the warmest indignation at the view of that insolent mandate,

and, in the vehemence of his just resentment, assembled without delay a council of the German bishops at Worms, where Gregory was charged with several flagitious practices, deposed from the pontificate, of which he was declared unworthy, and an order issued out for the election of a new pontiff. Gregory opposed violence to violence; for no sooner had he received by the letters and ambassadors of Henry, an account of the sentence that had been pronounced against him, than, in a raging fit of vindictive phrenzy, he thundered his anathemas at the head of that prince, excluded him both from the communion of the church and from the throne of his ancestors, and impiously dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful sovereign. Thus war was declared on both sides; and the civil and ecclesiastical powers were divided into two great factions, of which one maintained the rights of the emperor, while the other seconded the ambitious views of the pontiff. No terms are sufficient to express the complicated scenes of misery that arose from this deplorable schism.

At the entrance upon this war, the Swabian chiefs, with duke Rodolph at their head, revolted against Henry; and the Saxon princes, whose former quarrels with the emperor had been lately terminated by their defeat and submission, followed their example. These united powers, being solicited by the pope to elect a new emperor in case Henry persisted in his obstinate disobedience

to the orders of the church, met at Tribur in the year 1076, to take counsel together concerning a matter of such high importance. The result of their deliberations was far from being favourable to the emperor; for they agreed that the determination of the controversy between him and them should be referred to the Roman pontiff, who was to be invited for that purpose to a congress at Augsburg the year following, and that in the mean time, Henry should be suspended from his royal dignity, and live in the obscurity of a private station; to which rigorous conditions they also added, that he was to forfeit his kingdom, if, within the space of a year, he was not restored to the bosom of the church, and delivered from the anathema that lay upon his head. When matters were come to this desperate extremity, and the faction, which was formed against this unfortunate prince, grew more formidable from day to day, his friends advised him to go into Italy, and implore in person the clemency of the pontiff.—The emperor yielded to this ignominious counsel, without, however, obtaining from his voyage the advantages he expected. He passed the Alps, amidst the rigour of a severe winter, arrived, in the month of February 1077, at the fortress of Canusium, where the *sanctimonious* pontiff resided at that time with the young Mathilda, countess of Tuscany, the most powerful patroness of the church, and the most *tender* and affectionate of all the spiritual daughters of Gregory. Here the

suppliant prince, unmindful of his dignity, stood, during three days, in the open air at the entrance of this fortress, with his feet bare, his head uncovered, and with no other raiment but a wretched piece of coarse woollen cloth thrown over his body to cover his nakedness. The fourth day he was admitted to the presence of the lordly pontiff, who, with a good deal of difficulty, granted him the absolution he demanded; but, as to what regarded his restoration to the throne, he refused to determine that point before the approaching congress, at which he made Henry promise to appear, forbidding him, at the same time, to assume, during this interval, the title of king, as also to wear the ornaments, or to exercise the functions, of royalty. This opprobrious convention excited, and that justly, the indignation of the princes and bishops of Italy, who threatened Henry with all sorts of evils, on account of his base and pusillanimous conduct, and would, undoubtedly, have deposed him, had not he diminished their resentment by violating the convention which he had been forced to enter into with the imperious pontiff, and resuming the title and other marks of royalty which he had been obliged to lay down. On the other hand, the confederate princes of Swabia and Saxony were no sooner informed of this unexpected change in the conduct of Henry, than they assembled at Forcheim in the month of March, A. D. 1077, and unanimously elected Rodolph, duke of Swabia, emperor in his place.

This rash step kindled a terrible flame in Germany and Italy, and involved, for a long time, those unhappy lands in the calamities of war. In Italy, the Normans, who were masters of the lower parts of that country, and the armies of the powerful and valiant Mathilda, maintained successfully the cause of Gregory against the Lombards, who espoused the interests of Henry; while this unfortunate prince, with all the forces he could assemble, carried on the war in Germany against Rodolph and the confederate princes. Gregory, considering the events of war as extremely doubtful, was at first afraid to declare for either side, and therefore observed, during a certain time, an appearance of neutrality; but encouraged by the battle of Fladenheim, in which Henry was defeated by the Saxons, A. D. 1080, he excommunicated anew that vanquished prince, and sending a crown to the victor Rodolph, declared him lawful king of the Germans. The injured emperor did not let this new insult pass unpunished; seconded by the suffrages of several of the Italian and German bishops, he deposed Gregory a second time in a council which met at Mentz, and, in a synod that was soon after assembled at Brixen, in the province of Tirol, he raised to the pontificate Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III. when he was consecrated at Rome, A. D. 1084, four years after his election.

This election was followed soon after by an event which gave an advantageous turn to the affairs of Henry; this event was a bloody battle fought upon the banks of the river Elster, where Rodolph received a mortal wound, of which he died at Mersburg. The emperor, having got rid of this formidable enemy, marched directly into Italy the following year (1081,) with a design to crush Gregory and his adherents, whose defeat he imagined would contribute effectually to put an end to the troubles in Germany. Accordingly he made several campaigns, with various success, against the valiant troops of Mathilda; and, after having raised twice the siege of Rome, he resumed a third time that bold enterprize, and became, at length, master of the greatest part of that city, in the year 1084. The first step that Henry took after this success was to place Guibert in the papal chair, after which he received the imperial crown from the hands of the new pontiff, was saluted emperor by the Roman people, and laid close siege to the castle of St. Angelo, whither his mortal enemy, Gregory, had fled for safety. He was, however, forced to raise this siege by the valour of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, and Calabria, who brought Gregory in triumph to Rome; but, not thinking him safe there, conducted him afterwards to Salernum. In this place the famous pontiff ended his days the year following, A. D. 1085, and left Europe

involved in those calamities which were the fatal effects of his boundless ambition.”*

Pascal II. carried on the contest about investitures, and employed all sorts of intrigues to raise up enemies to Henry IV. This prince, however, had acquired *tact* by experience, and he eluded the stratagems of the pontiff with much vigilance and dexterity. But in the year 1106, he lost all self-controul and courage, when his unnatural son, who was afterwards Henry V. espoused the interest of the pope, and took up arms against his father. It is not certain that Pascal excited this horrid rebellion; but it is certain that he impiously attempted to annul the oath of subjection and fidelity which the son had taken to the father. The emperor resigned his life the same year in which he was compelled to abdicate his throne; and it is pleasing to learn, that the wretch who deposed his father proved hostile to the measures of the pope, who had countenanced him in that flagitious act. A. D. 1110, this prince advanced towards Rome with a numerous army, in order to put an end to the dispute, when Pascal, not being prepared for a decision at the point of the sword, proposed as conditions of peace, that Henry should renounce his right of investing with the ring and crosier; while, on the other hand, the bishops and abbots should resign to him, all the grants that had been received from Charlemagne, of rights and privileges belonging

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Cent. xi. Vol. II. 489.

to royalty, as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent territories.

These conditions received Henry's formal consent; but they were extremely disagreeable to the Italian and German bishops, who expressed their dissent with much vehemence and decision. The disputants were assembled in the church of St. Peter, where they excited a great uproar, on which the emperor caused the pope to be arrested and confined in the castle of Viterbo. Imprisonment brought down the pride and obstinacy of Pascal, and he entered into a new convention with Henry, by which he confirmed to him the privilege of inaugurating bishops and abbots with the ring and crosier. This treaty was no sooner made public than Rome was filled with wild and angry commotions against Pascal, who, was accused of having violated the duties and dignity of his station, and of having humbled the majesty of the church, by his base compliance with the demands of Henry. To compose these tumults, the pope called a council in the church of Lateran, A. D. 1112, in which he confessed his weakness, and submitted his late treaty to be revised and annulled by the council. The emperor was then excommunicated and pronounced a heretic, on which the German princes revolted from his authority, and took up arms against him. The result was, that Henry marched, a second time to Rome, at the head of a numerous army, and Pascal invited

the Normans to his assistance, and prepared to give him battle; but in the midst of his military preparations, which had drawn the eyes of Europe, the pope expired.

Nothing was more common in the twelfth century than for two popes to be elected at the same time; and the spirit of sedition and anarchy was kept in such continual exercise by the political intrigues of the crown and the mitre, that the most contemptible faction might be sure of the co-operation of some zealous partizans.

Under the reign of Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, the cardinals themselves were divided, and elected two popes, and when one of them died, the emperor caused another to be consecrated in his place. To requite this act of kindness, Alexander III. the rival pontiff, held a council in which he deposed the emperor, pronounced the oath of allegiance null and void, and exhorted his subjects to rise up against him. After the death of the second, a third pontifical antagonist was raised up to Alexander by the imperial faction; but in the upshot, Frederic himself was obliged to submit to the pope.

This same Alexander distinguished himself also in a contest with Henry II. king of England, in the affair of Becket and the constitutions of Clarendon. The haughty primate became the victim of his own arrogance; but the pontiff succeeded so far by his interference, as to impose a rigid course of penance on the British monarch,

whose petulant expressions had prompted to the martyrdom of St. Thomas.

In the year 1173, Alexander caused a council to be held at Rome, in which it was decreed that the election of the popes should be determined by the suffrages of the cardinals alone, and that the person in whose favour two-thirds of the college voted, should be considered as duly elected. This law, which excludes not only the citizens of Rome, but also the great body of the Roman clergy, from all share in the choice of their chief magistrate is still in force. The council proceeded in the next place to decree a spiritual war, to be carried on with carnal weapons, against heretics, whose numbers increased in proportion as the atrocious impiety of the church increased.

In the year 1198, Lotharius, count of Segni, was raised to the pontificate, under the denomination of Innocent III. If the ancient doctrine of the metempsychosis could be established, it might well be imagined that the soul of Gregory VII. had migrated into the body of Innocent III. At Paris and Bologna, he distinguished himself in his youth by his proficiency in academical acquirements. From the moment of his elevation to the Tiara, he applied himself with the utmost eagerness and address to the pursuits of papal ambition. He began with subjecting the city of Rome to himself. Hitherto, the prefect and subordinate magistrates had taken the oath of allegiance to the emperor only; but Innocent insisted on their taking that

oath to him, as their sovereign, independent of the emperor. He also sent legates to Ancona, Spoleto, and Tuscany, to make the same demand. In the second year of his pontificate, Innocent undertook the regency of the kingdom of Sicily, to which he had been appointed by the will of the empress Constantia, during the minority of her son Frederic. Of this country, Marcobaldus, a nobleman of Germany, endeavoured to make himself master, and gained over to his party all the Saracens in the island. Innocent, in the first place, directed his spiritual weapons against him, to which he paid little regard; when he raised an army and sent it into Sicily under the command of an experienced general, who soon compelled the German to abandon his prize.

About the same time, the German empire was disputed between Philip, duke of Swabia, and Otho of Saxony; when Innocent assumed to himself the power of deciding the contest, declared Otho duly elected, and sent two cardinals to notify this declaration to the princes of Germany. A. D. 1202, Innocent received an embassy from the king of Armenia, the issue of which was the submission of that Asiatic kingdom to the papal authority. In the same year, a legate was sent to Bulgaria and Wallachia, to crown a prince, who had conquered those provinces, on condition of his perpetual obedience to Innocent and his successors. Two years afterwards, the pope conferred the regal dignity on Premislaus, duke of

Bohemia, on the same terms. Soon after which, Peter II. king of Arragon, arrived at Rome, with a grand and numerous retinue, to receive his crown from the hands of the pope. On this occasion, the king received a sword from the pope, after he had taken an oath of fidelity and obedience, and rendered his kingdom tributary to the papal see.

In the year 1207 arose the memorable dispute of Innocent with John surnamed *sans terre*, king of England. On the death of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, the monks of the cathedral assembled in the night time and elected Reginald, their sub-prior, placed him on the archiepiscopal throne, and sang *Te Deum*. Reginald took an oath of secrecy to the monks, on the observance of which the success of the enterprize was supposed to depend; and set off the next morning for Rome, to obtain the sanction of the pope. But the prudence and piety of Reginald were not able to cope with his vanity, and he was no sooner arrived on the continent, than he began to divulge the secret of his elevation and of the object of his journey. The result was, that rumour travelled faster than the aspiring ecclesiastic, and when he reached the chair of St. Peter, the pope refused to confirm him in the see of Canterbury, until he should be better informed as to his election. In the mean time, the monks became acquainted with the conduct of Reginald, and were so incensed at his folly, that they united in

setting him aside, and in applying to the king for permission to proceed to a new election. In granting their request, the king gave a private intimation that he should feel extremely happy if their choice should happen to fall on John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, who was accordingly chosen, approved by his majesty, and put in possession of the temporalities of the archiepiscopal see. Twelve of the monks were deputed to get the pope's confirmation, which however was opposed by the suffragans, because the election had taken place without their concurrence. From these circumstances, Innocent took occasion to annul both elections, and to enjoin the deputies, under pain of excommunication, to choose Stephen Langton, a cardinal of English descent, and a creature of his own. Langton was accordingly chosen, consecrated by the pope, and sent over with presents, and a courtly letter, to the king. But notwithstanding these artful precautions for allaying his majesty's wrath, John was so enraged, that he sent a body of troops to expel the monks of Canterbury, and to hang them if they should resist.

The monks were accordingly compelled to embark for Flanders, their effects were seized, their tenants ejected, and their place supplied with some friars of the abbey of St. Augustine. In answer to the pope's letter, the English monarch gave him to understand that he was determined to maintain the honour of his crown, and support

the election of the bishop of Norwich ; and that if his holiness should thwart him in this respect, he would suffer no appeals in ecclesiastical disputes to be carried before any foreign court. But Innocent was too well acquainted with the versatile character of John to be intimidated by these menaces ; he therefore wrote to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to exhort the king, in his name, to receive archbishop Langton, and recall the monks of Canterbury ; and, in case of his refusal, to lay the kingdom under an interdict. John was terrified into vacillation at the message of these prelates, and offered to obey the pope's orders, with a salvo of his rights and dignity ; but Innocent would hear of no salvo, or other terms, than his delivery of the regalia with his own hand, to archbishop Langton, and his making immediate and full restitution to the convent. The demand was rejected, and the three bishops having laid the kingdom under an interdict, retired to the continent. A stop was immediately put to the performance of divine service, and the administration of sacraments ; church doors were shut, and the dead buried in ditches, without funeral solemnity. It should be mentioned to the praise of some ecclesiastics, that they exclaimed aloud against the injustice of the pope, and refused to obey his orders ; and if John had not alienated the minds of his subjects by his capricious and rapacious tyranny, he might have set him at defiance.

In the year 1211, Innocent, finding that his interdict was slighted by a considerable part of the English nation, issued a bull by which he excommunicated the king, absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordered all persons to shun him on pain of the severest censures. The following year, he carried his arrogance to a pitch that excited the astonishment of all Europe, by calling an assembly of his cardinals, and deposing John, with the utmost formality, and pronouncing his throne vacant ; he then wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, calling on him to put the sentence into execution, and unite the kingdom of England to his own dominions for ever. (This, by the by, together with the artifice of delivering over heretics to the secular arm, are pertinent illustrations of the high sounding difference between spiritual and temporal power.) At the same time, the pope issued another bull, exhorting all christian princes to contribute whatever was in their power to the success of Philip's expedition, promising to all who should succour that prince the same indulgences that were granted to those who bore arms against the infidels in Palestine. The French king, without considering that his own crown might be disposed of in the same manner, made immense preparations for invading England ; while, on the other hand, John collected a numerous army and a powerful navy in his own defence at Dover. In the mean time, Innocent commissioned Pandulf, as his le-

gate, to preside over the storm, and direct the thunder. This artful negociator passed through France and landed at Dover, where he proposed a conference with the king, in which he gave an exaggerated account of the prodigious strength of Philip's armament, on the one side, and of the disaffection of the English barons and people on the other. Finding that he had struck terror and dismay into the heart of John, the legate proceeded to intimate that there was one way, and only one, left, in which he could save his dominions, viz. by putting them under the protection of the holy see, and making submission to the pope. Horrible as were the circumstances in which the English monarch was now placed, they were rendered encreasingly so, by a consciousness of guilt, and by the remembrance of the many acts of misrule and oppression, by which he had forfeited all claim to the political devotion of his subjects. Moreover, he was prevailed on by Pandulf to promise, on oath, to abide by the judgment of the church, before he well knew the ignominious purport of that judgment. He was required to admit archbishop Langton into his favour, together with the exiled prelates; to pardon all, whether clergy or laity, who had taken part with the pope, and restore them to their estates and honors; and to oblige himself to refrain from issuing writs of outlawry against churchmen for the future. But the worst of all was his doing homage to the pope. This cere-

mony was performed in the house of the Templars at Dover. The king resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the see of Rome, to which he swore fealty as a vassal and a feudatory. He obliged himself and his successors to pay an acknowledgment of the pope's superiority, and, in lieu of service, an annual tribute of seven hundred marks for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland. This disgusting ceremony was performed on ascension day, in the midst of a vast concourse of people, who beheld it with shame and indignation. In doing homage to the pope, John presented a sum of money to his representative, which the proud legate trampled under his feet as a mark of the king's dependence. Every spectator glowed with resentment; and the archbishop of Dublin exclaimed aloud against such intolerable insolence.

In the year 1214, Innocent's tyranny was displayed in a still more insulting manner towards Raymond, count of Toulouse; but this branch of his administration belongs to the history of the Crusades, and shall therefore be passed over for the present.

In the year 1215, the fourth general Lateran council was held at Rome, which was so managed, that instead of exercising the functions of a free and deliberative body, it was made use of as a passive instrument to register the decrees and canons which Innocent had drawn up, and which

he caused to be read for its approbation. In this council, many sanguinary laws were passed against heresies and heretics, and the pope's deposing power, together with his absolute supremacy, in things temporal as well as spiritual, were recognized. In the same year, Innocent had occasion to interpose again in the affairs of England. The barons of the kingdom had taken up arms in order to impose restraints on the eccentricities of royal oppression, by extorting from their capricious monarch charters of liberty. John sent copies of these charters to Innocent, representing them as violent usurpations of the rights and prerogatives of his holiness, as lord paramount of the kingdom, and praying that he might be absolved from his obligation to observe them. The pope was filled with surprise and indignation at learning that a prince, who had put himself under the protection of the successor and representative of St. Peter, should be treated with such rude familiarity, and inveighed against the impudence of the barons who dared to extort, by force of arms, such charters from a vassal of the holy see. He annulled the charters, released the king from his oath, and commanded the barons to recede from the privileges which they had presumed to extort: at the same time, to overawe their insolence, he fulminated against them a sentence of excommunication in case of their disobedience, and ordered archbishop Langton to publish the bull. Langton, however, had

taken part with the barons, and refused to obey the papal mandate, alleging that the pope had been misinformed, while the stout-hearted barons treated his menaces and censures with just contempt.

In the following year, Innocent undertook a journey to Pisa, with a view to bring about a reconciliation between the Pisans and Genoese, and to unite the two republics, with other christian powers, against the Mohammedans. But on his arrival at Perugia, he was attacked by a violent fever, which, in a few days, put an end to his life, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his pontificate.*

* Mosheim Vol. III. Cent. 13. Smollett's History of England, Vol. II. reign of King John. Aikin's Biography, Vol. V. article Innocent III.

"Ambition," says Mr. Berington, a Roman catholic clergyman, speaking of Innocent, "was his ruling passion, to gratify which, he overstepped the bounds of decency and justice, playing as wantonly with the solemn censures of the church, as if they had been instituted for the common purposes of wayward caprice or resentful vengeance. To look to him for the amiable virtues of life, or for those which should form the pastoral character, would be loss of time. The prerogative of the holy see, built up by adulation and misjudging zeal, filled his mind : its aggrandisement he sought, sometimes, perhaps, from motives which the cool reasoner may excuse : and the meteor of universal empire, gleaming on his senses, did not permit the operations of a dispassionate and unbiassed judgment."—Berington's Reign of Henry II.

Cardinal Fleury speaks of a letter which Innocent wrote at the beginning of his pontificate to the emperor of Constantinople.

"In this letter the pope gives forced interpretations to a passage of St. Peter which was alleged by the emperor to prove that all christians without exception ought to be subject to the temporal powers. The apostle, says the pope, spake thus, to excite the faithful to humility. The king indeed is sovereign, *but only over those who receive from him things temporal*, that is to say, *over the laity*: as if the church had not received all her temporalities from the secular power! The pope adds, that the prince hath not received the power of the sword over *all* evil-doers, but only over those who, using the sword themselves, are subject to his jurisdiction. By this he means only laymen, that so he might procure for criminal clergymen an exemption from temporal punishment, or an immunity. He says, that no one ought to judge another's servant, supposing that the clergy are not servants to the prince! Then he produces the allegory of the two great lights which God had placed in heaven, to represent, says he, the two great dignities, the pontifical and the regal. As if in a serious debate it were allowable to advance allegorical whimsies, to deny which, is to confute them! Thus they eluded the plainest authorities of the holy scriptures, to support prejudices drawn from the decretals."

Third Discourse on Ecclesiastical History.

SECTION II.

The Paulicians of Armenia.

THE SECT of the Paulicians rose in the east about A. D. 660. Constantine, a person who dwelt in Mananalis, a small town in the neighbourhood of Samosata, entertained a deacon of a christian church who had been a captive among the Moham-medans in Syria. From his guest, Constantine received the gift of the new Testament, in the greek language. He made a diligent use of this present, but devoted himself with peculiar ardour to the history and writings of the great apostle of the gentiles. The disciples of Constantine adopted the names of Titus, Timothy, and Tychicus, and the congregations which he assembled in Armenia and Cappadocia were called after the apostolic churches. The Paulicians sought for the articles of their faith and the model of their worship in the pages of the new testament, and especially in the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of Paul; yet there are many opinions and practices ascribed to them very inconsistent with this pure standard of doctrine and morals.

It may be here observed, that the inspired oracles contain explicit intimations, that a flagrant defection would take place from the truth and purity of the gospel, which would be of wide extent

and long duration. The incipient principles of this departure from the faith began the work of corruption, in a clandestine way, even before the apostle Paul quitted the sphere of his labours. It is a momentous inquiry, *Whether the development of the mystery of iniquity is to be looked for in the mental aberrations and moral turpitude of some despised and persecuted fraternity of heretics, or in the swelling pomp and splendid sins of imperial and episcopal churches?* Perhaps I shall be regarded with horror for expressing a doubt on this subject.

The imposing fiction of a church, always visible, and ever infallible, has so fascinated the minds of many, as to render them blind to the most obvious and incontestible facts. Hence while the church has been bedizened by spiritual adulation, and invested with mysterious and inscrutable attributes, so that men might well be in dread of listening to the whispers of profane reason to her prejudice, unfortunate heretics have been treated in a very different style; they have been caricatured in the language of slander and detraction, and the books in which they defended themselves have been burnt.

The accounts we have of the Paulicians, are derived entirely from their enemies, by whom they are represented as maintaining, that the world is not the work of God, but of some subordinate and malicious agent;—as treating the Virgin Mary contemptuously;—as refusing to

celebrate the holy institution of the Lord's supper; as loading the cross of Christ with reproach; as rejecting the books of the old testament, and the epistles of Peter; and as excluding presbyters from all share in the administration of the church. It is irrational to suppose that any men could hold the writings of the apostle Paul in high veneration, and at the same time reject those of the prophet Moses, and the apostle Peter, as inspired by the genius of evil; and it has been shown by cool and judicious critics, that these accusations against the Paulicians must be understood chiefly with respect to some controversies agitated between them and their enemies.*

* The writings of Arthur O'Leary are enlivened by wit and freedom; and, which is higher praise, they are animated by the spirit of candour and virtue; but they are interspersed, here and there, with reflections on heretics, which betray the want of mature consideration. Witness the following passage;—"How are they (the protestants,) connected with the motley rabble of heretics, who appeared and disappeared in former times, overturning and attacking church and state, and attacked by both in their turn. No state acknowledged their power. No bond of civil union linked them together;—no subjects swore allegiance to them; no Catholic recognised a king, parliament, or magistrate amongst the Albigenses, whom people dignify with the title of Protestants; and whom Protestant powers would consider as the pest and bane of society, if such were now in their dominions. Disciples of the Manichæans, they admitted two supreme and independent principles; and granted two wives, called Colla and Colliba, to the God of truth. Had their doctrine been confined to mere speculations, in an age more enlightened than the thirteenth century, when

Constantine, who was also called Sylvanus, resided at Colonia in Pontus; and through his assiduity in disseminating his opinions, his disciples soon became numerous in the province of Asia Minor, to the west of the Euphrates.

the council of Lateran was held, in all appearance, humanity would pity them, and philosophy would smile at their errors.

But this wild theory was still surpassed by the most monstrous practices. They considered marriage as a state of perdition; but chastity was not one of their vows."

Mr. O'Leary adds, "more could be said; but I am afraid that my readers already blush." More indeed could be said, and has been said, on the same authority; and Mr. O'Leary's readers might very well blush, that a man of his learning and penetration should believe and retail such defamation.

When the books of a people are destroyed, and they are known through the representations of their enemies only, improbable accusations are to be received with caution.

From the charges brought against the Manichæans, it would seem, that they were adepts in an abstruse and impious philosophy; and that they were averse to agriculture, from a notion that plants are endowed with consciousness and suffer pain by being cut. Yet how could they subsist, but as shepherds and husbandmen; and is it likely that people of such simple habits of life, would perplex themselves with subtle speculations, tending to debar them from the only means of support within their reach? Moreover, they are accused of believing and teaching that the body is essentially evil, that it is to be shrivelled and macerated by the keenest self-denial, and its instincts and appetites mortified; while at the same time they lived in the greatest libertinism! Now, to say nothing of the inconsistency of such principles with such practice, would men who were the devotees of earthly and sensual pleasure, expose themselves to proscription and exile, to torture and death, without any prospect of remuneration?

The Greek emperors and clergy were soon roused to jealousy and persecution by the growing importance of this sect. "To their other excellent deeds" says Peter Siculus, "the divine and orthodox emperors added this virtue, that they ordered the Montanists and Manichæans to be capitally punished, and their books, wherever found, to be committed to the flames; also, that if any person

The speculative opinions attributed to the Manichees, the Paulicians, and the Waldenses, if really held and inculcated by them, would have done more to subvert their influence, as a body of religionists, than all the penal laws that were levelled against them. As sectaries, exposed alike in the east and the west, to the censures of the church, and the sword of the magistrate, what had they to keep up their credit, and multiply their converts, but the piety and rationality of their sentiments, and the rectitude and purity of their manners? Suppose among us, a man of dissolute behaviour should go into the country and endeavour to make proselytes of the peasantry, by proposing to them some obscure and absurd hypothesis about the origin of evil, and the souls of plants, is it likely that he would prevail on his rustic auditors, to quit their present religious connections, and expose themselves to the utmost peril, both in this world and the world to come, in order to embrace and support the airy visions of a bad man? The moral sense and the rational faculties are the same in the poor as in the rich, and any thing which shocks these, must be badly adapted to the use of a sectary, who, as he rejects oral tradition and human authority, has nothing else to appeal to. I am aware that remarks of this nature would be wholly inconclusive and impertinent, if put in opposition to well authenticated matters of fact; but I imagine they are not; when opposed to the petulant and *ex-parte* statements of writers, who in this instance, had stronger and more immediate inducements to criminate an adversary, than to investigate the evidence of truth.

was found to have secreted them, he was to be put to death, and his goods to be confiscated."

All our information concerning the Paulicians is derived from Photius, the learned, but haughty patriarch of Constantinople, and Peter, the Sicilian. Of modern historians, who have treated on the affairs of the Paulicians, Gibbon is justly applauded for his candour and faithfulness. We shall therefore copy his narrative.

"A greek minister, armed with legal and military powers, appeared at Colonia to strike the shepherd, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty, Simeon placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon and the proof of their repentance, to massacre their spiritual father. They turned aside from the impious office; the stones dropped from their filial hands, and of the whole number, only one executioner could be found, a new David, as he is styled by the catholics, who boldly overthrew the giant of heresy. This apostate, Justus was his name, again deceived and betrayed his unsuspecting brethren, and a new conformity to the acts of Paul may be found in the conversion of Simeon: like the apostle, he embraced the doctrine which he had been sent to persecute, renounced his honours and fortunes, and acquired among the Paulicians the fame of a missionary and a martyr. They were not ambitious of martyrdom, but in a calamitous period of one hundred and fifty years,

their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict : and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. From the blood and ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose : amidst their foreign hostilities, they found leisure for domestic quarrels : they preached, they disputed, they suffered ; and the virtues, the apparent virtues, of Sergius, in a pilgrimage of thirty-three years, are reluctantly confessed by the orthodox historians. The native cruelty of Justinian II. was stimulated by a pious cause, and he vainly hoped to extinguish in a single conflagration the name and memory of the Paulicians. By their primitive simplicity, their abhorrence of popular superstition, the Iconoclast princes might have been reconciled to some erroneous doctrines ; but they themselves were exposed to the calumnies of the monks, and they chose to be the tyrants, lest they should be accused as the accomplices, of the Manichæans. Such a reproach has sullied the clemency of Nicephorus, who relaxed in their favour the severity of the penal statutes, nor will his character sustain the honour of a more liberal motive. The feeble Michael I. and the rigid Leo the Armenian, were foremost in the race of persecution ; but the prize must doubtless be adjudged to the sanguinary devotion of Theodora, who restored the images to the oriental church. Her inquisitors explored the cities and mountains of the lesser Asia, and the flatterers of the empress

have affirmed that, in a short reign, one hundred thousand Paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames. Her guilt or merit has perhaps been stretched beyond the measure of truth : but if the account be allowed, it must be presumed that many simple Iconoclasts were punished under a more odious name ; and that some who were driven from the church, unwillingly took refuge in the bosom of heresy.

The most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted and at length provoked. In a holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse ; the justice of their arms hardens them against the feelings of humanity ; and they revenge their fathers' wrongs on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Hussites of Bohemia, and the Calvinists of France, and such, in the ninth century, were the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces. They were first awakened to the massacre of a governor and bishop, who exercised the imperial mandate of converting or destroying the heretics ; and the deepest recesses of mount Argæus protected their independence and revenge. A more dangerous and consuming flame was kindled by the persecution of Theodora, and the revolt of Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of the east. His father had been impaled by the catholic inquisitors ; and religion, or at least nature, might justify his desertion and revenge. Five thousand of his brethren

were united by the same motives ; they renounced the allegiance of anti-christian Rome ; a Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the calif ; and the commander of the faithful extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountains between Siwas and Trebizond he founded or fortified the city of Tephrice, which is still occupied by a fierce and licentious people, and the neighbouring hills were covered with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconciled the use of the bible and the sword. During more than thirty years, Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic war : in their hostile inroads the disciples of St. Paul were joined by those of Mohammed ; and the peaceful christians, the aged parent and tender virgin, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. So urgent was the mischief, so intolerable the shame, that even the dissolute Michael, the son of Theodora, was compelled to march in person against the Paulicians : he was defeated under the walls of Samosata ; and the Roman emperor fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The Saracens fought under the same banners, but the victory was ascribed to Carbeas ; and the captive generals, with more than an hundred tribunes, were either released by his avarice, or tortured by his fanaticism. The valour and ambition of Chrysocheir, his successor, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance

with his faithful moslems, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Asia ; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown ; the edicts of persecution were answered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus ; nor could the apostle St. John protect from violation his city and sepulchre. The cathedral of Ephesus was turned into a stable for mules and horses ; and the Paulicians vied with the Saracens in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. It is not unpleasing to observe the triumph of rebellion over the same despotism which has disdained the prayers of an injured people. The emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was reduced to sue for peace, to offer a ransom for the captives, and to request, in the language of moderation and charity, that Chrysocheir would spare his fellow-christians, and content himself with a royal donative of gold and silver and silk garments.—“ If the emperor,” replied the insolent fanatic, “ be desirous of peace, let him abdicate the east, and reign without molestation in the west. If he refuse, the servants of the Lord will precipitate him from the throne.” The reluctant Basil suspended the treaty, accepted the defiance, and led his army into the land of heresy, which he wasted with fire and sword. The open country of the Paulicians was exposed to the same calamities which they had inflicted ; but when he had explored the strength of Tephric, the multitude of the barbarians, and the ample magazines of

arms and provisions, he desisted with a sigh from the hopeless siege. On his return to Constantinople he laboured, by the foundation of convents and churches, to secure the aid of his celestial patrons, of Michael the archangel, and the prophet Elijah ; and it was his daily prayer that he might live to transpierce, with three arrows, the head of his impious adversary. Beyond his expectations, the wish was accomplished : after a successful inroad, Chrysocheir was surprised and slain in his retreat ; and the rebel's head was triumphantly presented at the foot of the throne. On the reception of this welcome trophy, Basil instantly called for his bow, discharged three arrows with unerring aim, and accepted the applause of the court, who hailed the victory of the royal archer. With Chrysocheir, the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered ; on the second expedition of the emperor, the impregnable Tephrike was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy or escaped to the borders. The city was ruined, but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains : the Paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infested the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the gospel.

About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus by the worshippers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia, and found, in the cities of Melitene and

Theodosiopolis, a great number of Paulicians, his kindred heretics. As a favour or punishment, he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe. If the sectaries of the metropolis were soon mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in a foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians. In the tenth century, they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimisces transported from the Chalybian hills to the vallies of mount Hæmus. The oriental clergy, who would have preferred the destruction, impatiently sighed for the absence, of the Manichæans: the warlike emperor had felt and esteemed their valour; their attachment to the Saracens was pregnant with mischief; but, on the side of the Danube, against the barbarians of Scythia, their service might be useful, and their loss would be desirable. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration: the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis, and the keys of Thrace; the catholics were their subjects; the Jacobite emigrants their associates: they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were

associated to the communion of arms and heresy. As long as they were awed by power and treated with moderation, their voluntary bands were distinguished in the armies of the empire; and the courage of these *dogs*, ever greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious: they were easily provoked by caprice or injury; and their privileges were often violated by the faithless bigotry of the government and clergy. In the midst of the Norman war, two thousand five hundred Manichæans deserted the standard of Alexius Comnenus, and retired to their native homes. He dissembled till the moment of revenge; invited the chiefs to a friendly conference; and punished the innocent and guilty by imprisonment, confiscation and baptism. In an interval of peace, the emperor undertook the pious office of reconciling them to the church and state: his winter-quarters were fixed at Philippopolis; and the thirteenth apostle, as he is styled by his pious daughter, consumed whole days and nights in theological controversy. His arguments were fortified, their obstinacy was melted, by the honours and rewards which he bestowed on the most eminent proselytes; and a new city, surrounded with gardens, enriched with immunities, and dignified with his own name, was founded by Alexius, for the residence of his vulgar converts.

The important station of Philippopolis was wrested from their hands; the contumacious leaders were secured in a dungeon, or banished from their country; and their lives were spared by the prudence, rather than the mercy, of an emperor, at whose command a poor and solitary heretic was burnt alive before the church of St. Sophia. But the proud hope of eradicating the prejudices of a nation was speedily overturned by the invincible zeal of the Paulicians, who ceased to dissemble or refused to obey. After the departure and death of Alexius, they soon resumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed, by his vicars, the filial congregations of Italy and France. From that æra, a minute scrutiny might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the last age, the sect or colony still inhabited the vallies of mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkish government. The modern Paulicians have lost all memory of their origin; and their religion is disgraced by the worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice, which some captives have imported from the wilds of Tartary.

In the west, the first teachers of the Manichæan theology, had been repulsed by the people or

suppressed by the prince. The favour and success of the Paulicians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, must be imputed to the strong, though secret, discontent which armed the most pious christians against the church of Rome. Her avarice was oppressive, her despotism odious: less degenerate perhaps than the Greeks in the worship of saints and images, her innovations were more rapid and scandalous: she had rigorously defined and imposed the doctrine of transubstantiation: the lives of the Latin clergy were more corrupt, and the eastern bishops might pass for the successors of the apostles, if they were compared with the lordly prelates, who wielded by turns the crosier, the sceptre, and the sword. Three different roads might introduce the Paulicians into the heart of Europe. After the conversion of Hungary, the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem might safely follow the course of the Danube: in their journey and return they passed through Philippopolis; and the sectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might accompany the French or German caravans to their respective countries. The trade and dominion of Venice pervaded the coast of the Adriatic, and the hospitable republic opened her bosom to foreigners of every climate and religion. Under the Byzantine standard, the Paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily; in peace and war they freely conversed with strangers and natives, and their opinions

were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps. It was soon discovered, that many thousand catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had embraced the Manichæan heresy; and the flames which consumed twelve canons of Orleans, was the first act and signal of persecution. The Bulgarians, a name so innocent in its origin, so odious in its application, spread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry and Rome, they were connected by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were discriminated by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed in the two principles, the contempt of the old testament, and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies; and so high was their standard of perfection, that the encreasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, of those who practised, and of those who aspired. It was in the country of the Albigeois, in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted; and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhone. The laws of the eastern emperors were revived by Frederic the second. The insurgents of Tephric were

represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc: pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the Crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the founders of the inquisition; an office more adapted to confirm, than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigeois, were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul: who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology.”*

* *Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Chap. 54—427.*

SECTION III.

The vicissitudes of the Islam.—The irruption and conquests of the Turks.—The Crusades.

THE empire of the Saracens, if an empire it may be called, rose with greater rapidity, and under more singular circumstances, than any other, whether antient or modern, with which we are acquainted. It is probable that the success of Mohammed, both as an impostor and a prince, far exceeded, in the event, whatever had entered into his designs and expectations. By infernal artifice, he procured the fame of heavenly inspiration; and while, in his oracles and his actions, he violated some of the plainest and most weighty precepts of truth and morality, he established his fame and his authority as the last, and the greatest, of the prophets. From the holy shrine of Mecca, the islam went forth to revolutionize the world; and, in less than a century, the rhapsodies of the Koran were received and venerated as the fruits of divine illumination, not only in the tent of the Bedouin, but also in populous and wealthy cities.

After the conquest of Persia, the river Oxus divided the dominions of the Arabs and the Turks. The latter were a fierce and warlike people, of similar habits to the antient Scythians, and de-

pendant on their flocks and their arms, for their subsistence and safety. They were scattered in various tribes, and under different denominations, over the regions to the north-east of the Caspian sea.

Having passed the Oxus, the ardent and adventurous Arabs tasted the delights of an earthly paradise in the delicious vallies and gardens of Bockhara and Samarcand. They traversed the territories of the Kalmuck and the Usbeck Tartars; nor did they stop in their victorious career, till the native of the thirsty desert drank of the Indus and the Ganges, and reposed under the cooling shade of the umbrageous Banian.

Obeidollah, the son of Ziyad, governor of Chorrassan, was the first moslem general who made an irruption into the regions beyond the Oxus; and, amongst other booty, his success was rewarded with one of the buskins of a Turkish queen, the jewels in which were estimated at two thousand pieces of gold. If there is nothing but historic truth in this story, it shews that the Turks had a taste for riches and luxury, prior to their leaving their native seats in the north, to run their memorable race of conquest in more southern latitudes.

The final conquest of Transoxiana was achieved under the califate of Walid, by Catibah, the camel-driver, about the same time that the moslems were gathering laurels in Spain. Walid, was a heavy, indolent, man; yet, under his sluggish sceptre, the crescent rose in commanding majesty

over some of the fairest portions of Europe, Asia, and Africa. So general and simultaneous was the impulse given by the rising fortunes of the islam.

If the noblest and most laboured works of man are subject to vicissitude and decay, it was by no means to be expected that a dominion, formed with such unexampled precipitation, amongst a people so little accustomed to empire, as the Arabs, should be uniform and lasting. The hasty growth of the willow is attended by weakness and flexibility, which yield to the storm; while the oak advances slowly to maturity, increases in strength as it encreases in size, and stands firm amidst contending elements.

We shall now attempt an outline of the moslem power, as it approached the zenith of its greatness, and give a sketch of some of the principal fluctuations and vicissitudes which foreboded and hastened its decline.

At the end of the first century of the Hegira, and the beginning of the eighth, of the christian æra, the successors and representatives of Mohammed were the most potent and absolute sovereigns in the world. They united in themselves the sacerdotal and regal prerogatives and functions; they were strangers to the embarrassing perplexity of church and state; and if the Koran was the high code of civil and criminal jurisprudence, from which there was no appeal, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of the meaning of the sacred book. They held the sceptre, not by

virtue of stipulations and charters, but by right of conquest; and the ease with which they obtained that right, is a proof that their new subjects had not been trained in the school of liberty. The transfer of slaves from one master to another is a matter of small consequence, and is easily accomplished.

As the numerous nations and tribes, subdued by the moslems, had been in a state of vassalage, prior to the Mohammedan conquest, so they continued in the same servile condition afterwards. The prophet was too ignorant to be capable of forming a system of moral and political discipline. The rights of man, and the laws of nature and of nations, were subjects to which the Arabs had never turned their attention; and when Mohammed assumed the character of a prophet and reformer, he aimed at nothing farther than the abolition of idols, and the extinction of that spirit of faction and revenge, which so frequently turned the arms of his countrymen against each other. The tribes of the desert were prevailed on to consign their feuds to oblivion; they were united in the ties of friendship and brotherhood; and the prowess which had been injuriously wasted in domestic broils and skirmishes, was directed, with energy and success, to the conquest of foreign kingdoms. In forming themselves into a military and religious association, the Arabs gave no indication of their having the slightest idea of civil and religious freedom: it was not therefore to

be expected that in going forth to subdue, to plunder, and to proselyte, contiguous nations, they should carry with them such a precious boon as a political constitution.

Asia was the theatre of most of the events to which we intend to advert in this section; but a few occurrences took place in Europe at which we must give a passing glance. We must observe however, in the first place, that to understand the affairs of the moslems, in any part of the world, from the middle of the first century of the Hegira to the close of the fourth, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the sects and factions into which they were divided. The disciples of Mohammed soon violated their obligations to mutual confidence and cordiality. The first, the greatest, and the most durable, schism was that of the Shiites and Sonnites. The former execrate the memory of Abu Becr, Omar, and Othman, the three first califs, as usurpers, while they venerate Ali, the fourth calif, as the legitimate successor of the prophet.* The Sonnites do

* Mr. Martyn mentions a zealous follower of Ali at Shiraz, who had spent every afternoon, regularly, for fourteen years, in cursing the worshippers of Omar, in the prescribed form; but finding that these maledictions brought no blessing on himself, he left them off.—*Memoirs of the late H. Martyn*, 407.

The popular belief of Persia has enlisted the wild beasts of the earth in the contests of religious factions. “A fellow told me, with the gravest face,” says Mr. Morier, “that a lion of their own country would never hurt a follower of Ali. On meeting a lion, therefore, you have only to say *Ya Ali*, and the beast

not dispute the title of Ali to the throne of Mohammed, but they contend that the order of succession was determined by the degrees of virtue, and that Ali's being last in the order of time is a proof that he was lowest in the scale of merit. This discord which has raged from the earliest days of the islam to the present time, was but the beginning of political heresies and civil wars.

The transfer of the seat of government from Medina to Damascus, was one of the first fruits of the rivalry and jealousies of the Arab chiefs; and it is probable that this event greatly contributed to the dismemberment and decline of the Saracen empire. The superstitious enthusiasm, under the auspices of which, this empire had risen, was of a local nature, and was intimately connected with the holy places in which the prophet had exercised his sacred mission, and asserted his claim to political power. But when the dangerous secret was discovered, that a successor of Mohammed could breathe and reign on the banks of the Parphar, as well as in Mecca or Medina, it might readily occur to the busy thoughts of ambition, that the same functions could be performed in other latitudes and climes.

will walk by with great respect; but should you either from zeal, or the forgetfulness of terror exclaim *Ya Omar*, he will spring upon you instantly." The Persians are fond of setting off on a journey on *Omar coushen*, or the festival of the killing of Omar, because they think it a lucky day.—*Morier's Journey through Persia in the years 1808 & 1809, page 62, 249.*

The califs of the house of Ommiyah who filled the throne of Damascus were never the objects of popular favour except in Syria. It was remembered against them, that their ancestors had been obstinate in their adherence to the cause of idolatry, that their adoption of the islam was late and reluctant, and their elevation to power hasty and irregular. The chiefs of the house of Abbas, distinguished alike by martial courage and intriguing subtlety, sent out their agents and emissaries to preach their hereditary and inalienable rights, to expose the luxury of the califs of Damascus, and to alienate the eastern provinces from the existing government. Thus a war was kindled which raged, with all the virulence of faction, from the Euphrates to the Indus.

The cause of the Abbasides was supported by the prowess of Abu Moslem, a stern fanatic, who never smiled except on a day of battle, and who boasted that he had destroyed six hundred thousand of his enemies. Mervan, the fourteenth and last of the califs of Damascus, of the house of Ommiyah, was vanquished in a battle on the banks of the Zab. Mervan was a martial prince, he commanded an army of one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, and the moslems attribute his defeat, not to his want of skill or of courage, but to the omnipotence of destiny which had predetermined the downfall of his greatness. Abdallah, the victorious chief, instituted a merciless proscription of the partizans of Mervan; the

bones of the dead were dug up and scattered, and their memory cursed; and fourscore of the living, who too easily confided in the faith or clemency of their foes, were treacherously massacred at a banquet, and the festive board was spread, over the mangled bodies of the slain.

The wastes of war might be repaired by the fruitfulness of succeeding generations; but the bloody feuds of the Saracens inflicted an incurable wound on the unity and strength of their empire. In the proscription and slaughter of the Ommites, a royal youth of the family of Mervan, and now the only surviving heir to the throne of Damascus, made his escape to the north of Africa, where he concealed himself from his pursuers in the vallies of mount Atlas. As yet Spain had taken no part in the sanguinary broils which had proved fatal to the califs of Damascus; and the officers of the Moorish government held their situations in virtue of an authority which was now extinct. If resistance to the successful faction was dangerous, submission was not wholly without peril; for the triumph of the Abbassides had already been characterized by deceit and cruelty. In this critical posture of affairs, it is not strange that Abdoulrahman, the royal fugitive of Damascus, should meet with a cordial reception on the coast of Andalusia. The white* flag of inde-

* When the Saracens split into hostile factions, *black* was adopted as the symbol of the Abbassides, *green* of the Fatimites, and *white* of the Ommites. The flight of Abdoulrahman took

pèndence was unfurled, and a battle was fought on the banks of the Guadalquiver in which Abdoulrahman vanquished and slew the lieutenant of the Abbassides. Ala was the name of this general, and his head, preserved in salt and camphire, was suspended by a daring messenger before the palace of Mecca, as an expressive warning to all others who might presume to visit Spain with the same intentions. Had the Moors of Spain become subject to the Abbassid califs, the face of Europe might soon have been changed; but having declared themselves independent, they became a strong bulwark against the progress of oriental ambition and conquest in the west. Their circumstances supplied them with strong and urgent motives to keep a watchful and suspicious eye on the movements of their eastern brethren, and to fortify themselves by entering into covenants of amity and mutual defence with christian powers. With the independence of Moorish Spain commenced a new æra of prosperity and magnificence for that country. The provinces were no longer harassed by the harsh and rapacious administration of viceroys, whose main object was the accumulation of riches to be spent in other lands. Abdoulrahman shewed himself worthy of empire by his wise and spirited endeavours to promote agriculture, commerce, and architecture:

place A. D. 755; in 57, he landed on the coast of Spain, and in 59, established his royal residence at Cordova.

under his potent sceptre, justice was administered, peace preserved, learning and genius encouraged, and the southern and eastern provinces enjoyed the incomparable advantages of their luxuriant soil and happy climate.

The revolt of Spain was followed by the defection and independence of several other provinces. The Edrisites erected the cities and empire of Morocco and Fez on the shores of the Atlantic ocean ; The Aglabites reigned at Tunis and Tripoli ; and the Fatimites became powerful in Egypt.

But though the Saracens were thus divided and distracted, and their forces so often set in hostile array against each other, they were not wholly forgetful of their common obligations to invade, to plunder, and to subjugate, the dominions of the infidels. In the year 823, a piratical band of adventurers from the coast of Andalusia, subdued the island of Crete, and gave it the name of Candia, from Candax, their first fortress. A few years after the capture of Crete, Sicily was invaded by the Moors of Africa, and seventeen thousand christians transported into African servitude.

In the year 846, an army of moslems from the coast of Africa, had the audacity to enter the classic stream of the Tyber, and imperial Rome, so long the queen of nations, trembled at the approach of a petty and barbarous emir. In their first incursions into Italy, the Saracens were content with plundering the churches, and besieging

a few small towns and fortresses. But they soon appeared in greater numbers, and with more formidable preparations. About this period, Leo IV. succeeded Sergius II. in the pontifical chair, and by his princely and martial endowments, preserved the seat of episcopal hierarchy from becoming the abode of Mohammedan imposture.

“This pontiff was born a Roman; the courage of the first ages of the republic glowed in his breast; and, amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum. The first days of his reign were consecrated to the purification and removal of relics, to prayers and processions, and to all the solemn offices of religion, which served at least to heal the imagination, and restore the hopes, of the multitude. The public defence had been long neglected, not from the presumption of peace, but from the distress and poverty of the times. As far as the scantiness of his means, and the shortness of his leisure would allow, the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers, in the most accessible stations, were built or renewed; two of these commanded on either side the Tyber; and an iron chain was drawn across the stream to impede the ascent of a hostile navy. The Romans were assured of a short respite by the welcome news, that the siege of Gayeta had been raised, and that a party of the enemy, with their sacrilegious plunder, had perished in the waves.

But the storm, which had been delayed, soon burst upon them with redoubled violence. The Aglabite, who reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father a treasure and an army ; a fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short refreshment in the harbours of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from the city ; and their discipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a transient inroad, but a serious design of conquest and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Gayeta, Naples, and Amalfi ; and in the hour of danger, their gallies appeared in the port of Ostia under the command of Cæsarius the son of the Neapolitan duke, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Cæsarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dextrous pontiff affected to enquire their errand, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential succour. The city bands, in arms, attended their father to Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed his generous deliverers. They kissed his feet, received the communion with martial devotion, and listened to the prayer of Leo, that the same God who had supported St. Peter and St. Paul on the waves of the sea, would strengthen the hands of his champions against the adversaries of his holy name. After a similar prayer, and with equal resolution, the moslems advanced to the attack of

the christian gallies which preserved their advantageous station along the coast. The victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was less gloriously decided in their favour by a sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The christians were sheltered in a friendly harbour, while the Africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of a hostile shore. Those who escaped from shipwreck and hunger, neither found nor deserved mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives ; and the remainder was more usefully employed, to restore the sacred edifices they had attempted to subvert. The pontiff, at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the shrines of the apostles ; and among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows of pure and massy silver were suspended round the altar of the fisherman of Gallilee.”*

In the year 871, a contest took place in the south of Italy on the coast of the Adriatic gulf, in which the three great powers of the world, the Greeks, the Franks, and the Saracens, were engaged. A colony of the latter had been planted at Bari which commands the entrance of the Adriatic, and their lawless depredations provoked the resentment both of the eastern and western empires. An alliance was struck between Basil the

* *Decline and Fall of the Rom. Emp. Vol. V. 355.*

Macedonian, and Lewis the great-grandson of Charlemagne; the former supplied a fleet, and the latter an army. But such was the strength of the fortress of Bari, and the valour of its defenders, that it held out, against the infantry of the Franks and the gallies of the Greeks, for four years, at the expiration of which, it yielded to the clemency of Lewis, who commanded in person the operations of the siege.

We must now advert to the affairs of the moslems in the east. During the civil wars between the Ommiad and Abbassid califs, the emperors of Constantinople had taken the opportunity of avenging their wrongs, and recovering some of the provinces they had lost. But under the reign of a woman and a child, Mohadi, the third calif of the Abbassid dynasty, sent an army of ninety-five thousand Persians and Arabs, which traversed the countries between the Tigris and the Thracian Bosphorus, and exacted a severe retribution. This army was commanded by Harun, or Aaron, surnamed *al Raschid*, (the just) the heroic son of Mohadi, who, five years afterwards ascended the throne of his father. This warlike and magnificent prince, the perpetual hero of the Arabian Nights, was the ally of Charlemagne, but the enemy of the Byzantine emperors, whose dominions he invaded no less than eight times, and as often as they declined the payment of the tribute he imposed, they were made to feel that a month of depredation was more to be dreaded than a

year of submission. The empress Irene was one of the vilest and most cruel of womankind; she caused the eyes of her infant son to be put out, that she might reign alone; yet all black with guilt, Providence permitted her to drive through the streets of Constantinople in a golden chariot, drawn by four milk white horses. She was visited, however, at length, with the trifling and inadequate punishment of deposition and exile; and Nicephorus, the new emperor, presumed to write to the calif, acquainting him with his determination to refuse the payment of tribute. His letter was pointed with an allusion to the game of chess. "The queen (Irene) considered you as a rook and herself as a pawn. That pusillanimous female submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore, therefore, the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword."

The reply of the calif was one of terrific conciseness and tremendous menace: "In the name of the most merciful God, Harun al Raschid, the commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold, my reply." It was written, not on a waxed tablet or a palm leaf, but in flames of fire and columns of smoke upon the plains of Phrygia.

Under the califate of Motassem, the eighth of

the Abbassides, the Saracen power in the east came to the zenith of its greatness. The Arabs, in their impetuous career of conquest, had been urged by strong natural feelings, and allured by the illusions of fanaticism. But the impetus of passion and enthusiasm cannot hold always ; and when the inward irritation, which impels the enthusiast and the conqueror, fails, he falls supine on the couch of ease and luxury, and is himself vanquished by the fruits of victory.

If stately palaces, lined with the richest tapestry, and adorned with a profusion of gems and gold, could make an empire strong, that of the califs of Bagdad might long have flourished in peaceful security. But in the absence of freedom and justice, immense treasures and diversified luxuries are mere fig-leaves, which badly conceal weakness, guilt, and shame.

The first califs required no guard ; they were strengthened and defended by the stern and commanding virtues of temperance, courage, and public spirit. Their successors also were generous, but their generosity was under the guidance of caprice, rather than of judgment ; and their magnificence, which soon degenerated into softness and imbecility, might raise the admiration of the vain and irresolute, but it excited the disgust and contempt of the hardy and the brave. As the love of power is natural to the heart of man, and as indolence and pleasure corrupt the mind, it is to be expected that princes who are

not held under restraint by their subjects, and who, surrounded by pomp and parasites, despise public opinion, will become arbitrary and despotic. It was thus with the magnificent califs of Bagdad. They were destitute of the moral and political virtues which are as a shield about the person of a ruler; they were enervated by sloth and voluptuousness; the riches in which they wallowed tempted the avarice of adventurers; they were not supported by the cordial attachment and fidelity of their subjects; and in this state of gorgeous weakness and peril, they found it expedient to surround their throne with legions of foreign mercenaries. This unadvised or ill-advised measure of safety was the consummation of danger. Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, who was probably ignorant that the mighty empire of Rome had been set up to public auction by the prætorian guards, was the first author of this mischief. He introduced into his capital from the northern regions of Asia, above fifty thousand Turks, who readily abandoned the rude idolatry in which they had been brought up, embraced the religion of their benefactor, and of course, became eligible to the offices of his government. They soon began to exemplify the genius of military despotism, by treating their effeminate masters as their slaves, by plundering the public treasury, and taking upon themselves the effective government of the state.

Having come to that period in history, in

which the Turks, issuing from the remote regions of northern Assia, began to make themselves formidable, first to the Saracen, and then to the Greek, empire, we shall pause for a moment, to take a view of the characteristic properties of these fierce marauders.

The inherent attributes of man, whether civilized or savage, are liable to be turned and modelled by the soft but plastic energy of circumstances and situation. But though the mere incidents of time, of place, and of occupation, have a powerful agency in forming the character of man; yet the careful observer of human affairs, will sometimes see the internal and elementary principles of a man's nature waging successful warfare with the tendencies of his situation.

Little is known, with certainty, of the manners and habits of the Turks previous to their emigration from the north; and their intolerable pride and ferocity might be considered as effects of their sudden elevation to riches and empire, were it not that the uniformity and permanence of these odious qualities in the Turkish character make it absurd to ascribe them to any adventitious and intermittent cause.

The Romans before they became masters of Greece, were strangers to the elegant refinements of art and science; but the lofty spirit of conquest did not hinder that great and generous people from becoming the disciples of their philosophic slaves. Greece flourished under the sway of the

Romans, and decayed only as the empire decayed. How different has been its condition under the Turks ! When the Arabs spread themselves from their native peninsula to the banks of the Tagus and the Tigris, they applied their leisure, in their new and luxurious settlements, to the cultivation of literature and science. They were debarred from becoming adepts in the arts of painting and sculpture, because these were the well known handmaids of polytheism and idolatry ; and the classic authors of Greece and Rome were exceptionable in their eyes on account of their frequent allusions to gods and goddesses, the fantastic creations of a licentious imagination. But in the ample range and boundless variety of nature, they found abundant room for the indulgence and culture of poetic enthusiasm, and the beauteous ease and simplicity of their metrical effusions may, in some degree, be owing to the absence of mythology and fable. The Arabs also made respectable progress in the severe and more useful studies of chemistry, medicine, astronomy, and the mathematics. A taste for intellectual riches and culture was first introduced at Bagdad by the calif Almanzor ; and the liberal designs of this illustrious patron of letters were adopted and consummated by his grandson, the great Almamon. The generous activity of these princes, in collecting from all quarters of the globe the treasures of philosophy and science, and in calling forth genius from its obscure retreats, soon excited a noble spirit of

emulation throughout the wide extent of the moslem world. The ardour of acquiring and diffusing knowledge was encreased, by a saying of the prophet, happily preserved by tradition, viz : *That the ink of the learned, and the blood of the martyrs, are of equal value in heaven ; and that learning is to be sought after, though in China.*

The brutish ignorance of the Turks has been ascribed to their religion. But it is obvious to ask If the islam produced ignorance and contempt of knowledge in the Turks, why did it not produce the same effects in the Saracens ? The same question may be urged concerning the doctrine of predestination. It was an article of faith held in common by Turks and Arabs, and it is certain that it did not move the latter to condemn the means of intellectual improvement.

I am aware that the stupid and obstinate illiteracy of the Turks has been called in question by some who have travelled, and resided, in the east, and who would seem to have contracted a love for whatever was oriental. I know, likewise, that all attempts to delineate national character, are liable to be impugned by the adduction of individual exceptions to general remarks. It is no wonder there should be single persons, and even whole families, in a nation, whose essential and prominent qualities do not quadrate with the general standard, when it is not uncommon to find men, who are different beings, in the different periods of their brief existence. No one accuses the Turks

of want of capacity ; but if the character of a people can be gathered from their history, the Turkish, is strongly marked by idleness, ignorance, pride, and ferocity. This judgment is confirmed by the present state of the Ottoman empire. All is weakness and anarchy. The subject groans under oppression, and the sovereign keeps his seat in virtue of the Holy Alliance. In the natural course of things, limits are set to the progress and durability of despotism, by its tendency to work its own ruin ; but the present politics of Europe seem pledged to give a preternatural longevity to regal oppression. When the Turks issued from the deep forests and spacious plains of northern Asia, to run their desolating career of conquest in southern latitudes, they soon became masters of a large portion of the accumulated wealth of former ages, and of many of the fertile territories and commodious cities in which the arts of peace had been successfully cultivated. These, and many other advantages for empire, which have transpired in the lapse of the last eight hundred years, have been in the hands of the Turks, like a treasure in the hand of a fool.

“The national character of the Turks,” says Mr Thornton, “is a composition of contradictory qualities. We find them brave and pusillanimous ; gentle and ferocious ; resolute and inconstant ; active and indolent ; passing from devotion to obscenity ; from the rigour of morality to the grossness of sense ; at once delicate and coarse ; fasti-

diously abstemious and indiscriminately indulgent. The great are alternately haughty and humble ; arrogant and cringing ; liberal and sordid ; and in general, it must be confessed, that the qualities which least deserve our approbation are the most predominant.

The Turks, though previous to their emigration, they must have possessed, in common with other savage nations, a probity natural to their simple modes of life and the absence of temptation, yet suddenly becoming masters of some of the richest countries of the earth, they soon rioted in enjoyment with the keenness of newly excited appetite. If the adoption of a common religion promoted intercourse between them and the inhabitants of Persia, the profession of jarring and mutually intolerant opinions prevented communication with the christian subjects of the eastern empire ; and the knowledge which the Greeks possessed was beheld by the conquerors with the same contempt as their persons. They conquered to inherit ; but they knew no honourable means of subsistence besides arms, and left to slaves and cowards the cultivation of the earth and the practice of the arts. The indefinite extension of their empire, and the universal propagation of their faith, were the avowed objects of their warfare ; and they had consequently a sufficient number of enemies to exercise their courage. The intervals of peace were the seasons of unrestrained indulgence ; but these were too frequently interrupted

to allow them to sink into effeminacy ; thus they passed from idleness to rapine, and, under different circumstances, they alternately exhibited the ferociousness of barbarian courage, and the vices of luxury.”*

Before we enter on the affairs of the Turks as connected with the Crusades, we shall attempt a hasty sketch of their conquests in India. The daring spirit of conquest and rapine never brought together two nations of more discordant propensities and habits than the Hindoos and the Turks. The former were forbidden under the severest penalties to wander beyond the limits of the country which gave them birth, and which was consecrated by the fables of their mythology, and by the institutions of Menur. The latter led an erratic and predatory life, and considered *that* country the *best* in which they found the richest pastures for their cattle, or spoils for their arms. The Hindoos were divided into four *casts*, each having its specific duties assigned ; they were averse to blood, and strongly inclined to live in peace ; their attainments in arts and science were respectable ; and their superstition was of such a nature

* *Present state of Turkey, or a description of the Ottoman empire, Vol. I. 3—6.*

Mr. Thornton spent fourteen years in the British factory at Constantinople, and about fifteen months at Odessa on the coast of the Black sea, whence he made occasional excursions to the provinces of Asia minor, and the islands of the Archipelago.

that it neither impelled its votaries to make proselytes, nor admitted of their being received if they voluntarily offered themselves. In these, and many other respects, the character of the timid, the patient, the industrious, the ingenious Hindoos, presented a striking contrast to that of the ferocious adventurers by whom their rich and beautiful country was subdued and desolated.

The most formidable of these was Mahmud, the Gaznavide. This ambitious and martial chief was the son of Sebuctagi, a Turk by nation, and originally a slave, who by his address and valour rose to the supreme command of the city and province of Gazna, in the east of Persia. Sebuctagi, under pretence of fulfilling the commands of the prophet by destroying idols and propagating the islam, made an irruption into the western provinces of Hindostan, where he indulged his appetite for plunder, and whence he returned laden with immense booty. The wealth of India, and the glory of conquest and proselytism, soon drew to the standards of the sovereigns of Gazna encreasing hordes of Turks, Tartars, and Afghans, eager for the battle and the spoil.

At the close of the tenth century Sebuctagi expired and left his project of despoiling the effeminate Hindoos of their hoards of wealth and multitudes of idols to be completed by his heroic son. Mahmud entered with intrepid ardour into the designs of his father, and with an imagination dazzled with the meteors of martial glory, vowed that,

as soon as he had established the tranquility of his own dominions, he would direct the whole force of his empire against the idolatrous natives of Hindostan. The wished for period of domestic peace soon arrived. It was easy for clans of marauders to forget their feuds, for a while, in order to unite their arms, for the subjugation of the richest country on the globe.

In the first of his twelve expeditions against the Gentoos of Hindostan, Mahmud was met by Jeipal, rajah of Lahore, at the head of an army of twelve thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, supported by three hundred elephants of war. The forces of Mahmud, though vastly inferior in number, obtained a complete victory, and beside the plunder of the Indian camp, their thirst for riches was gratified by the possession of sixteen strings of jewels, suspended round the neck of the vanquished rajah, each of which was valued at one hundred and eighty thousand rupees.

In his second expedition, Mahmud made himself master of numerous castles and fortified towns on the western frontiers of India.

In the following expeditions, Tahera, Gaur, Multan, Tanasar, Delhi, Mathura, and Canouge, became subject to the rapacious fury of moslem invaders. The latter is described as being, at the time of Mahmud's conquests, a city which raised its head to the firmament, and which in the magnificence of its structure, and greatness of its strength, had no equal. Canouge and Mathura

were famous as the abodes of mythological superstition, and abounded with pagodas, or temples, replete with the ornamented symbols of idolatrous worship. Mathura, in particular, was held in the highest veneration as the birth place of Creeshna, and as the scene of some of his most popular achievements. Such was the sanctity of this place that the circumjacent territory to a great distance was reputed holy, and kings, and saints, and distant pilgrims, had, for ages, vied with each other in enriching its gorgeous shrines with costly offerings. Twenty days were spent in the sack and plunder of this venerated recess of brahminical superstition. In its temples were found five enormous idols of pure gold, with eyes of rubies, each of which was estimated at fifty thousand dinars; while the gods of silver were so many and so great, that they produced sufficient bullion to load a hundred camels.

With a numerous train of elephants and camels, groaning under the wealth of plundered India, Mahmud returned to Gazna, where the utmost astonishment was excited by the profusion of gems, and gold and silver, which was displayed on the opening of the stores and baggage of the victorious army. The population of Gazna was increased by a multitude of captives, and by the influx of strangers, and its splendor was suddenly augmented by the erection of new baths, palaces, aqueducts, and mosques. Of the latter, one of pre-eminent beauty and magnificence, was erected

by Mahmud, as a grateful acknowledgment to heaven, for the success of his sanguinary ambition; the walls were composed of marble and granite; the interior was hung with the richest carpets of India and Persia; and so various and brilliant were the ornaments lavished upon it, within and without, that it became renowned through Asia as the celestial bride.

In the year 1024, Mahmud set off for Sumnaut, in the province of Guzzurat, on his twelfth and last Indian expedition. Sumnaut is described as the most crowded resort of brahminical devotees in the south of Hindostan. The temple of Sumnaut was situated in a peninsula, on the shore of the ocean; two thousand villages were made tributary to its support, by the devout liberality of neighbouring rajahs; and two thousand priests ministered at the altars of the idol. The roof was supported by fifty-six pillars, overlaid with plates of gold, and encrusted at intervals with precious stones. The spacious edifice was illuminated by one pendant lamp, whose light, reflected by innumerable jewels, diffused a strong and refulgent lustre. In the midst, stood Sumnaut himself, a colossal statue, cut out of one entire mass of stone, and surrounded with thousands of images of gold and silver, in various shapes and sizes. Prodigious numbers of Hindoos perished in the vain attempt to defend from impious violation this august brahminical pantheon. They were animated to a courageous and obstinate resistance by

the idle conceit, that Heaven would strike with sudden and exemplary vengeance the relentless enemies of their religion.

When Mahmud entered the temple, he smote the image of Sumnaut on the face, in the presence of the frantic brahmins, who offered to purchase an indemnity from further insult at the expence of many millions, sterling, of gold. The counsellors of Mahmud advised him to accept the ransom, alleging, that the destruction of a stone image would not change the hearts of idolaters, and that the distribution of some millions of gold amongst indigent moslems would be highly meritorious. *Your reasons*, replied the prince, *are plausible and weighty ; but never, in the eyes of posterity, shall Mahmud appear as a merchant of idols.* The work of destruction went on, and it was found, that the image was hollow, and that the cavity was filled with diamonds and pearls, of the purest water and greatest magnitude.

Mahmud died in his palace at Gazna in the sixty-third year of his age, A. D. 1030. For him the title of Soltan, or Sultan, was invented, which has been borne by Turkish princes ever since.—The principle of his wars in India, as avowed by himself, in answer to a native rajah, who interceded on behalf of Tanasar, was, “ That in the islam, it is an established maxim, that the more the glory of the prophet is exalted, and the more his followers exert themselves in the subversion of idolatry, the greater will be their reward in

heaven. That, therefore, it was his firm resolution, with the assistance of God and the prophet, to root out the abominable worship of idols from the face of Hindostan. To spare Tanasar, one of the most venerated recesses of the Hindoo superstition, would be to trample on the most sacred mandate of the Koran." After all, they who judge of the motives of a prince by his actions rather than by his words, will be more apt to ascribe the sanguinary wars of Mahmud, in Hindostan, to insatiable avarice and restless ambition, than to veneration for the authority of Mohammed. In defiance of the latter, he indulged in the pleasures of wine; and if he had not been impelled by the former, the priest-ridden children of the great Brahma, might have remained in the quiet possession of their idols and pagodas, together with the consecrated treasures attached to them.*

By the conquest of India, the Gaznavide monarchs rose at once to the summit of opulence and luxury. Prosperity of such hasty growth was not likely to be durable. While Massud, the son and successor of Mahmud, revelled in the accumulated spoils of Hindostan, another clan of Turks and Tartars emerged from obscurity in the west, and began to menace the security of their more fortunate but less hardy neighbours. These were the Seljukians; so called from Seljuk, a

* *Maurice's Modern History of Hindostan, Vol. I. chap. 3.*

General History of the Turks in the IV. Vol. of the Universal Hist. Modern part.

daring chief, who, for a bold intrusion into the harem of his prince, was doomed to banishment from his country. At the head of a numerous concourse of kindred and friends, the warlike exile crossed the Jihun, or Jaxartes, and pitched his tent in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, where he and his followers became Mohammedans. At this time Massud was in India, and on his return to Gazna, the Seljukians sent a message to him, offering to become his subjects; but the haughty Gaznavide rejected the overtures of his brethren with disdain, and set off again for India. During his absence the Seljukians made themselves masters of all the eastern provinces of Persia; and in the year 1038, Togrul Beg, or, as he is called by the Greeks, Tangrolipix, the grandson of Seljuk, was invested with the title of Sultan in the royal city of Nishapur.* As the Turks had been

* “From the bleak and ungenial plains of Khozzer, at the north east of the Caspian sea, a mass of fierce and unpolished Turkmans, called in history the Seljuk Turks, rolled to the milder regions of the south. Between the years 1038 and 1092, all Persia, Arabia, and most of Syria, owned for their lords, *Togrul, Seljuk, Alp Arslan, and Malek Shah.*”—*History of the Crusades by Charles Mills, Vol. I. page 2, second edition.*

I have quoted this passage in order to point out a trifling mistake which I supposed escaped the ingenious author *currente calamo*.

There is much obscurity in the early history of the Turks, as may be seen by comparing the various accounts of the Persians, Greeks, and Turks themselves, in the IV. Vol. of the Universal History, but I believe there is no doubt that Togrul was the descendant and successor of Seljuk.

accustomed to the nomadic life, and had dwelt in moveable habitations, which they transported from place to place together with their flocks; houses, and towns, must have appeared to them, at first, as awkward and inconvenient luxuries; but they wisely adjusted their manners to their circumstances, and under the fostering care of the new Sultan, Rey, Ispahan, and Nishabur, enjoyed tranquility, and displayed the order and magnificence of a powerful state. Togrul Beg, notwithstanding the recency of his power and the uncouthness of his name, exemplified the extensive views and liberal policy of a wise and generous prince.

When Massud returned from India and found that his dominions were curtailed in the west, he resolved on striking a decisive blow at the rising importance of his rivals. His armies still contained many of the veterans with whom his father had triumphed over the united power of the rajahs of Hindostan, and his own valour made him confident of success. He led his forces in person, and was met in the field of Zendican by his Seljukian adversaries. The battle was obstinate and bloody; but the issue confirmed the loss of the Gaznavide Sultan, and established the power of his rival. The fruit of this victory over the mighty monarch of Gazna and Hindostan diffused the fame of the Seljukians to distant nations, and overawed the fierceness and rapacity of the wandering tribes of the contiguous deserts.

Togrul died, A. D. 1063, and as he left no children, he was succeeded in his title and prerogatives by his nephew, surnamed Alp Arslan, or the *courageous lion*. The title of this youthful hero, expresses, by a bold figure, the martial qualities best adapted to render a chief popular among hordes of fierce marauders, lately confederated in order to make themselves terrible to surrounding kingdoms. During the degeneracy and divisions of the califate, the emperors of Constantinople recovered some of their Asiatic provinces from the Saracens ; but their attention was soon excited by new swarms of enemies who united the obstinate valour of the ancient Scythians with the fiery fanaticism of the moslem Arabs. Togrul made an irruption into their empire, and is said to have killed and taken captive one hundred and thirty thousand christians ; but though his cavalry was irresistible in the open country, he was obliged to retire with disgrace from the siege of an Armenian city. More terrible calamities by far awaited the christians under Alp Arslan and Malek Shah. A. D. 1066, the emperor Constantine Ducas died, and left the imperial sceptre to his youthful widow, Eudocia, and his three infant sons. From Eudocia, the dying emperor had exacted a promise that she would not endanger the peaceful succession of his sons by a second marriage ; but necessity has no law ; and in less than eight months after the death of Ducas, the perilous situation of the empire, menaced by the fiercest

savages that ever issued from the north, the nursery of pirates and robbers, demanded the talents of a martial prince. The choice of the empress fell on Romanus Diogenes, a man distinguished by the masculine comeliness of his person, and the heroic qualities of his mind. The new emperor relieved his subjects from despondency, animated his soldiers, and inspired his enemies with dread; in three successive campaigns he beat the Turks, and drove them beyond the Euphrates, which admonished Alp Arslan that it was time for him to collect his forces and take the field in person.—When the sultan, at the head of forty thousand horse, arrived on the field, he sent to the emperor proposals for a negociation; but Diogenes was too confident of victory, and replied in the language of defiance and insult, *If the barbarian wishes for peace, let him evacuate the ground which he occupies for the encampment of the Romans, and surrender his city and palace of Rey, as a pledge of his sincerity.* On receiving this defiance, Alp Arslan exchanged his bow and arrows for a mace and scymeter, perfumed his body, arrayed himself in a white garment, and declared that if he was vanquished, the spot where he fell should be his burial-place. The battle, which was obstinate and bloody, lasted from the dawn of day until the return of night, when the Byzantine army was thrown into disorder and surrounded, and Diogenes was made a prisoner. The victorious sultan treated his illustrious captive with respect and ge-

nerosity ; but he kept firm possession of the Asiatic provinces of Rome. Alp Arslan fell by the hand of an assassin whom he had provoked, while on an expedition for the conquest of Turkestan, the original seat of his ancestors. *In my youth, said the dying sultan, I was advised by a sage, to humble myself before God ; to distrust my own strength ; and never to despise the most contemptible foe. I have neglected these lessons ; and my neglect has been deservedly punished. Yesterday, as from an eminence I beheld the numbers, the discipline, and the spirit of my armies, the earth seemed to tremble under my feet ; and I said in my heart, surely thou art the king of the world ; the greatest and most invincible of warriors. These armies are no longer mine ; and in the confidence of my personal strength, I now fall by the hand of an assassin.* The remains of the sultan were deposited in the mausoleum of the Seljukian family at Maru, and the inscription on his tomb called upon the traveller, who had seen the grandeur of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, to behold it buried in the dust. He was succeeded by his son Malek Shah, who inherited the martial endowments and generous policy of his father, together with his magnificence and power. Under this sultan, the greatness and splendor of the Seljukian dynasty attained to their zenith. His sway was acknowledged from Cashgar, on the borders of China, to the mountains of Armenia, and the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and from the spicy regions of

Arabia to the wilds of Tartary. Such was the activity of this prince, that he made the tour of his vast dominions twelve times in the course of his life, and such was his justice and his beneficence, that he was always hailed as a friend, except by the flagitious. The literature of Persia revived under his patronage, and a large proportion of his revenues was spent in the erection of colleges, mosques, and hospitals. It does not appear that bigotry entered into his character ; for he offered to marry the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople, and to form an alliance of political amity with that prince. The liberal policy of Malek Shah was fatal to the unity and permanence of his dominion. He encouraged his vassals to aspire to command ; and, to use the eastern style, *a crowd of princes arose from the dust of his feet*. Hence the dynasties of Kerman, of Syria, and of Roum, or of the Romans. The Seljukian kingdom of Roum was founded by Soliman, a daring and ambitious emir, at Nice, the capital of Bithynia, and became a dreadful scourge to the christians both of the east and the west. Thus, the birth-place of the Athanasian creed became the seat of moslem imposture, and the christian name was proscribed on the spot, where christians had first assembled in a general council, to proscribe and anathematize each other. The death of Malek Shah took place A. D. 1092, five years after which, the metropolis of Bithynia was invested by the armies of Europe on their march to Palestine. Nice is situated on

a spacious plain ; it is now little more than heaps of deserted ruins ; but at the close of the eleventh century its walls and fortifications resisted the united assaults of the crusaders for seven weeks.

We must here pause for a moment to make a few reflections on the causes of those grand and romantic expeditions; which for several ages, drew much of the rabble, and many of the bravest and noblest warriors of Europe, in successive fleets and armies, into the distant east.

The crusades were eruptions of the militant enthusiasm and fanatical zeal, connected with some religious feelings, which had been long cherished in the minds of christians, and which at length exploded like a volcano. The fierce and vengeful passions which agitated the hearts of the catholics of Europe were, in a great degree, the reaction of the unforbearing ferocity of the moslems of Asia. There were, however, some other causes of combustion which united with resentment of the insolence and violent proceedings of the Mohammedans. For more than three centuries before the first crusade, pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been frequent. These perilous journies sometimes originated in the prurience of a gross devotion, which required to be fed through the ministry of sensible objects, and which it was supposed would kindle into the purest rapture, at the sight of those venerable places, which had been hallowed by the bodily presence of the Redeemer. But they were sometimes undertaken

as a commutation for penance and an atonement for transgression. It was also believed that the Holy Land belonged to the christians by a divine grant, and that therefore, it was impiously base and cowardly to allow it to be subject to the polluting thralldom of Mohammedan despots.

Sentiments to the preceding effect may be traced in the speech of Urban II. at the council of Clermont A. D. 1095. "It has hitherto arisen from human frailty," said the pontiff, "that you have erred; and that deceived by the speciousness of vice, you have exasperated the long suffering of God, by too lightly regarding his forbearance. To you, however, now suffering this perilous shipwreck of sin, a secure haven of rest is offered, unless you neglect it. A station of perpetual safety will be awarded you, for the exertion of a trifling labour against the Turks.—Go, then, prosperously: go, then, with confidence, to attack the enemies of God. For they long since, oh, sad reproach to christians! have seized Syria, Armenia, and lastly, all Asia minor; and now they insolently domineer over Illyricum, and all the higher countries, even to the sea, which is called the straits of St. George. Nay, they usurp even the sepulchre of our Lord, that singular assurance of faith; and sell to our pilgrims admissions to that city, which ought, had they a trace of their ancient courage left, to be open to christians only.—Let such as are going to fight for christianity put the form of the cross upon

their garments, that they may, outwardly, demonstrate the love arising from their inward faith; enjoying by the gift of God, and the privilege of St. Peter, absolution from all their crimes: let this in the meantime sooth the labours of their journey; satisfied that they shall obtain, after death, the advantages of a blessed martyrdom.—Rid God's sanctuary of the wicked; expel the robbers; bring in the pious.—God will be gracious to those who undertake this expedition, that they may have a favourable year, both in abundance of produce, and in serenity of season. Those who may die will enter the mansions of heaven, while the living shall behold the sepulchre of the Lord. And what can be greater happiness, than for a man in his lifetime to see those places where the Lord of heaven was conversant as a man?"

Prior to the council of Clermont, the pilgrimage of the Holy Land had been performed by Peter, a native of Amiens, who, on account of the plainness of his attire, and the austerity of his manners, was called the hermit. The person of Peter was diminutive, but his eye was animated and perspicacious, and his tongue eloquent. He saw, with indignant feelings, the haughtiness and barbarities of the Turks, and fancied that he was raised up, like another Moses, to bring deliverance to the people of God, groaning under oppression. He conversed with the patriarch of Jerusalem on the degraded state of the Holy City, and having

procured from him a letter, addressed to the pope and to all christians in the west, he engaged, as a penance for his sins, to travel over Europe, and to plead, before princes and people, the cause of the afflicted church. The talents of Peter were admirably suited to his undertaking, and the rising spirit of chivalry was beginning to prepare the public mind to listen with rapture to the sermons of an apostle, who summoned the nations of the west, to retaliate the insults and injuries heaped on the christian name by the Saracens and Turks. A nerve of exquisite feeling was touched, and the whole body politic, from the heart to the extremities, was thrown into violent agitation. Animosity against the infidels was the predominant sentiment of Europe, and revengeful war became the order of the day. Knights, cased in armour, and burning to signalize their courage as the soldiers of Christ, every where presented themselves. Princes and beggars, artists and husbandmen, monks and harlots, united under the standard of the cross: some were stimulated by piety, some by chivalry; some fled from want, and some aspired to fame; some wished to make an atonement for old sins, while others were no less anxious for fair opportunities of committing new ones; and all either felt, or affected to feel, a fervent love to the faith, and a deep abhorrence of its enemies. Dreams, and visions, and astrological observations, contributed to swell the tide of popular enthusiasm, and to multiply the swarms of

infatuated recruits. The epidemic raged from the crowded city to the obscure village, and from the loftiest palace to the humblest cottage; the wealthy alienated their estates in order to purchase horses and arms, while the simple rustic shod his oxen like horses, and placing his wife and children in a cart, set off with them to Jerusalem, without thinking of the rivers, mountains, and morasses, which would obstruct his progress.

The first division of the champions of the cross was led, or rather attended, by Walter the pennyless; the second, by Peter the hermit; and the third by Godeschal, a German priest. These were followed by a fourth division amounting to two hundred thousand, a desperate rabble, who do not appear to have acknowledged any leaders, except a goose and a goat, to which they payed a superstitious veneration. The greater part of the savages which composed these disorderly squadrons, perished miserably, on their route through Hungary and Bulgaria. Their sufferings were manifold and extreme, but not greater or more various than their crimes. The most daring and fortunate advanced no further than the plain which surrounds Nice, where they fell in heaps by the arrows and sabres of the Turks, and their bones were piled up into a pyramid, as a warning to future crusaders. Most of these martyrs to their own rashness and fanaticism, were untutored and inexperienced in the art of war, but they were strong in presumption; it

would seem that they expected a succession of miracles similar to those recorded in the book of Exodus ; but as Heaven did not interpose to save them from the tremendous effects of their own imprudence and temerity, they took the liberty of plundering and desolating the earth. They indulged their zeal and brutality in a horrid massacre of the jews, while they gratified their passion for rapine by seizing the treasures of that industrious and enterprising people. In several instances, the atrocious cruelties exercised towards those unoffending victims of fanatical intolerance, drove them to such a pitch of desperation and madness, that fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, stabbed each other, to avoid falling into the hands of their remorseless enemies.

It is probable that the dreadful disasters which befel the crusading mobs of Walter, Peter, and Godeschal, together with the goat and goose gang, contributed, by the caution which they inspired, to the success of the subsequent expedition, when the feudal princes of Europe assembled their vassals and tenants, in order to equip them to achieve the redemption of the holy sepulchre. A different scene was now presented, in which men of birth, of fortune, and of honour, came forward to signalize their courage and generosity, and Europe glittered in all the pomp and equipage of chivalry. The first preachers of the crusades raised a storm which they were not able to controul ; and it is probable that

they were sometimes terrified and embarrassed by their success. But when the first great convulsion of depraved fanaticism had subsided, there was a calm, favourable to the interposition of chiefs accustomed and qualified to command, and of troops trained to obey, and accoutred to fight.

Among the princes who became illustrious in the crusades, the most honourable consideration is due to Godfrey, lord of Bouillon, marquis of Anvers, and duke of Brabant, or the lower Lorraine. His father was Eustace II. count of Boulogne, and on his mother's side he was descended from Charlemagne. He united a most engaging suavity of temper and gentleness of manners, with piety of heart and gravity of deportment; while his lofty mind and heroic spirit were chastened and restrained by prudence and moderation. Godfrey sold his castle and lordship of Bouillon to the church of Liege, in order to meet the expences of the expedition. He was accompanied by his brother Baldwin, and his kinsman Baldwin du Bourg, and followed by a numerous army from the towns and provinces lying between the Rhine and the Elbe.

There were many other princes conspicuous for personal merit and political consequence, who, at the head of their numerous retainers, directed their course to Palestine. Hugh, count of Vermandois, and brother to the king of France, is described as a cavalier of approved courage

and stately deportment. He was attended by a train of knights, numerous as the Grecian warriors at the siege of Troy. Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres, was distinguished by his sagacity and eloquence. Robert duke of Normandy, and son of William the Conqueror, was hasty and furious, but destitute of firmness and good sense. This group of crusaders was intent on pleasure as well as war, and made delays in Italy for the sake of indulging in dissipation.

The next army was commanded by Bohemond prince of Tarentum, and son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia. He was a man of subtle craft and insatiable avarice, who pursued his favourite objects, with much dexterity and perseverance, through the intricate mazes of chicane and artifice. He was the wily Ulysses of the crusade. His nephew and companion, Tancred, was of purer reputation, superior to finesse, and combining the intrepid boldness of the soldier, with the courteous modesty of the gentleman.

The next array of holy warriors, amounting to one hundred thousand, was led by Raymond, duke of Narbonne, and count of Provence, Toulouse, and Rouergue. This chief was of mature age and great experience; but his temper was cold, haughty, and envious. His immense riches made it easy for him to relieve the necessitous; yet he was feared rather than loved. The greatness of his preparations are attested by the circumstance, that though a man of dispatch, he

was the first to enlist, and the last to march, on the crusade. Though ages had elapsed since the moslems invaded the south of France, yet the remembrance of that event, and the desire of retaliation, contributed to swell the numbers and enflame the ardour of Raymond's troops. The standard of Raymond also was followed by several noblemen of high, but subordinate, rank, as, William, lord of Montpellier, Raynouard, viscount of Turenne, the archbishop of Toledo, and the bishops of Puy and Orange.

Alexius Comnenus, the Byzantine emperor, was from situation and circumstances deeply interested in the crusades, yet it is difficult to determine whether he should be ranked as a friend or an enemy; for he sometimes acted in one character, and sometimes in the other. The incidents of his long and eventful reign were extremely perplexing, and many of them grievously afflictive. The Normans, under the Guiscards, had made inroads on the empire in the west; in the east, the victorious Turks had extended their conquests from Persia to the Hellespont; and the seasonable succour, which was implored from the Latins, came in such rapid, boisterous, and overwhelming, torrents, that it is no wonder the emperor should be thrown into consternation, and should vacillate between the counsels and measures of hope and fear, friendship and enmity. To his accomplished daughter, Anne Comnena, it seemed as though, by some great convulsion

in nature and society, Europe was loosened from its base and precipitated on Asia ; and she endeavours to aid the imagination in painting the countless multitudes of the martial pilgrims, by comparing them to the flowers of spring, the leaves of autumn, and the stars of heaven. On the one hand, it must be acknowledged, that the seasonable bounty of Alexius saved many of the indigent crusaders from starvation, while his magnificent presents stimulated the ambition of the great ; and on the other, that his kindness was in some instances ill requited, and that his timid and suspicious policy was justified by the well known instability of political friendship, and by subsequent events. The accumulated riches of Constantinople must have been a tempting object to crowds of rapacious adventurers, and the ancient throne of the Cæsars could not be destitute of attractions in the eyes of aspiring chieftains.

When the armies of the first crusade drew up for the muster on the plains of Bithynia, they presented a spectacle tremendously splendid and awful. Their numbers are variously stated, from five, to seven, hundred thousand. Among these were thousands of knights, attended by their squires, mounted on fiery steeds, armed with coats of mail, with shields, helmets, lances and swords, all ornamented and glistening in the sun. The united force of the crusaders was directed against Nice, the capital of the Seljukian kingdom of Roum. The Sultan, Soliman, or Kil-

lidge Arslan, as he is called by the Turks, con-
 fided his family and treasures to the fortifications
 of Nice, and retired to the neighbouring moun-
 tains with fifty thousand cavalry, at the head of
 which, he signalized his courage and dexterity
 by fierce, but ineffectual, attacks on the christian
 camp. Nice was wrested from the Turks, and,
 through the artifices of Alexius, annexed to the
 Byzantine empire; after which, the crusaders
 pursued their march through Asia minor to An-
 tioch. For the convenience of forage the army
 separated into two columns, a circumstance which
 the Sultan endeavoured to turn to his advantage
 with the promptitude of an accomplished warrior.
 Provoked, rather than dispirited by the loss of his
 capital, he flew from one part of his dominions
 to another, and assembling his emirs, made a
 descent on the weaker division of the christian
 army at Doryleum, with an overwhelming weight
 of cavalry. The crusaders received the shock of
 their assailants with firmness, and fought with the
 strength and boldness of lions; but their courage
 was well nigh spent and their strength exhausted,
 when Godfrey, having been informed of the
 perilous situation of his brethren, came to their
 relief with forty thousand soldiers. This happy
 event was the result of the precaution of Bohe-
 mond, who was no sooner apprised of the ap-
 proach of the Turks, than he dispatched messen-
 gers to convey the news to his brother chieftains.
 On the arrival of the reinforcement, the confi-

dence and ardour of the crusaders revived; the air resounded with prayers, and shouts of *Deus id vult*; and the votaries of the cross paid their devotion with a vengeance on the bodies of their panic struck foes. The bloody field of Doryleum was thickly spread with the corpses of the slain; but the sorrow of the croises over their fallen brethren was mitigated by the joy of victory and the spoils of the Turkish camp.

Three days were spent in collecting and distributing the booty, burying the dead, and ministering to the necessities of the wounded; after which, the army moved on, traversed the mountains of Phrygia and Lycaonia, forced their passage over the iron bridge of the Orontis, and invested Antioch, which after a disastrous siege of seven months was taken by stratagem and given up to an unbounded licence of pillage and spoliation. The capture of Antioch was also attended and disgraced with barbarous cruelty; in the first night ten thousand Turks were put to the sword, many of them while buried in sleep; and the whole city from the sumptuous palace to the meanest shed, was polluted with blood. From the excesses of martial ferocity, the crusaders diverged into the wildest revelries of intemperance, and effeminate pleasure. It seemed as though the air of the place inspired them with voluptuous desires, and they plunged eagerly into all the vices which passion can suggest or reason condemn. But the disorderly reign of festivity and dissipation

was short, and it is dreadful to think of the miseries by which it was succeeded. The victories of Nice and Doryleum had spread far and wide in the east, and roused the hosts of the moslem world, to make one desperate effort, to arrest the fierce warriors of the west, in their desolating career of conquest. The sack of Antioch was scarcely ended when the croises beheld the approach of Kerboga, emir of Mosul, leading against them the forces of Persia. The Turks and Persians resolved, if their scymitars were not successful, to blockade the city, and try the efficacy of starvation. The expedient was dreadfully prosperous. Famine soon raged in all its horrors. The blood of horses was drunk and their flesh eaten; the coarsest vegetables were greedily devoured; and the skins of animals, together with the leather of warlike instruments and engines, dressed for food. All dignities and distinctions both natural and artificial were brought down to one common level of wretchedness. The stateliness of the baron, the courage of the knight, the dignity of the matron, and the bashfulness of the virgin, the firmness of men, and the weakness of women, were merged and confounded in one sad community of squalid want and misery. Fanaticism, though impetuous, is irregular and inconstant, and knows nothing of humility and resignation; it may be a good servant but is a bad master. In the hour of painful visitation, the impassioned soldiers of the cross abandoned themselves to sullen desperation; for

three days the bishops and clergy abstained from prayer and thanksgiving; and the people vented their complaints in loud and impious murmurs against heaven.

*St. Hunting down
Back of
Juth.*
In these distressing circumstances, in which speedy and total destruction seemed inevitable, the leaders of the crusade drew on the bank of superstition, and the draft was honoured. A Lombard clerk preached to the people, and announced to them a vision, in which St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, appeared in the character of a pilgrim, and foretold *that in three years, the soldiers of the Lord, after having conquered various nations of barbarians, and endured many labours, should enter Jerusalem in triumph.* Another priest swore that Christ himself appeared to him while in prayer, and said, *I made you masters of Nice, I opened to you the gates of Antioch: and in return for these benefits, you have lost your religious name in infamous debaucheries with pagan women.* At these words, the Virgin and St. Peter interposed, made intercession, and obtained a conditional pardon.

The salutary fraud was completed by Peter Barthelemy, who informed the chiefs of the crosses that St. Andrew had appeared to him, carried him through the air to the church of St. Peter, shown him the lance which had pierced the side of Christ, and assured him that that weapon would be victorious. Barthelemy kept this vision a secret, as he said, until threats of heavenly venge-

ance overcame his modesty and compelled him to reveal it. Raymond and his chaplain listened to the story with thankful credulity ; two days were spent in devotional exercises ; and on the third a select company entered the church of St. Peter to dig for the holy lance: the workmen relieved each other, and the search was continued till the dusk of the evening, when Barthelemy himself descended into the pit, and, after a little ineffectual exertion, succeeded in bringing to light the mysterious relic. Doubt, and fear, and anxiety, at once, gave place to confidence, joy, and thanksgiving. The aspect of affairs was suddenly changed, and enthusiasm resumed its formidable reign. The clergy sang hymns and offered prayers ; the soldiers polished their shields and sharpened their swords ; the remains of provisions and money were distributed without parsimony, and every man prepared himself for victory or martyrdom.

The day of battle was the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the army marched out in twelve divisions, in honour of the twelve apostles ; the clergy sang, *Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered—Be thou a tower of defence to them who put their trust in thee ;* and the bishop of Puy, clothed in armour, and carrying the holy lance in his right hand, rode through the ranks and exhorted the soldiers to fight like the sons of God. *Heaven, said he, has pardoned your sins, and no misfortune can happen to you. He who dies here will live hereafter. Be brave of heart, for the Lord*

will send to you legions of saints. The croises fought like men whose arms were braced, and whose hearts were inspired, with supernatural strength; but notwithstanding their miracles of discipline and bravery, the numbers, the fury, and the superior condition of the Turks and Persians held the event of the contest in doubtful suspense, till there issued, or seemed to issue, from the neighbouring hills, three large figures, resembling knights clad in shining armour, and riding on white horses, whom Adhemar, flying from rank to rank, announced as *the succour which God had promised.* He was answered by vociferations of *Deus id vult*, and by a simultaneous and irresistible rush upon the foe, which determined the event of the day. The victorious croises pursued the steps of the Turkish Sultan, and the Persian general with such closeness, that they could neither rally their troops, nor regain their camp. The spacious and magnificent tent of Kerboga fell to the lot of Bohemond, and the strength of the crusading army was greatly recruited by provisions, and by the acquisition of fifteen hundred camels, and a great number of Arabian horses.

Edessa was already in the power of the croises, and they captured several other places on their march from Antioch to Jerusalem. The sight of the Holy City banished fatigue and langour, and kindled emotions of rapturous joy. Years of suffering were forgotten in the transport of the mo-

ment. But of the innumerable multitudes that left Europe on the first crusade, it is melancholy to relate, that only forty thousand reached the term of their martial pilgrimage. What a prodigal dissipation of courage, of strength, and of life, to attain an object, which however fair and dazzling in prospect, proved very trifling in possession. In accounting for the vast disproportion, in point of number, between the croises who set off for Jerusalem, and those who actually arrived there, some allowance must be made for such as deserted and returned to Europe, and such as remained in Antioch, Edessa, and other less considerable conquests. These however, it is calculated, did not amount to more than forty thousand; an equal number only arrived at Jerusalem; what then had become of the seven hundred thousand, mustered on the plains of Bithynia, previous to the first battle with the Sultan of Nice? It is terrible to think that so many hundred thousand human beings had fallen in so short a space of time, not by the decay of nature, but by the destructive ravages of the sword, of famine, and of pestilence.

When the croises began the siege of Jerusalem, they had not only to contend with the strong fortifications of the city, but also with a military force, equal, if not superior, to their own. The Turks moreover, had prepared for their reception, by destroying the springs of water in the neighbourhood; and their sufferings soon became al-

most as great through thirst, as they had been at Antioch through hunger. They were destitute of the apparatus necessary for conducting a siege, and were obliged to transport timber from a distance of thirty miles, for constructing engines. Their bodies were attenuated by drought and incessant toil. Under a climate incongenial with their constitution, and in the midst of the most trying privations and labours, they had need of all their presumption in the goodness of their enterprise, and in the co-operation of Providence. That presumption, supported and enflamed by a few artful prodigies contrived by dexterous artifice, and eagerly caught at by impatient credulity, sustained and animated them to the last.

On the fifteenth of July, A. D. 1099, the massive bulwarks of Jerusalem gave way before the arms of the assailants, and the city was taken by storm. While encamped in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre, the croises had felt the sway of various and discordant passions, excited by the objects around them, by the vivid recollections or images of events recorded in the Sacred History, and by the vows which had brought them, amidst countless dangers, so far from the lands of their nativity. But they were no sooner masters of the city to which they considered they had a paramount claim, derived from *him*, whose name they at once honoured and disgraced, and who came into the world, not to destroy men's lives, but to save, than every other emotion yielded to relentless

and insatiable vengeance. It seemed as if every thing which had been said by the promoters of the crusades, in order to rouse the indignant feelings of christians against Mohammedans, came fresh and fierce into the thoughts of the victors, and the carnage raged with indiscriminating fury in all directions. Even Godfrey and Tancred, men whose characters were adorned by a portion of magnanimous gentleness, were carried away by the blind and vindictive impulse, and took their share in the butchery. No age or sex was exempt. Infants, whose silence speaks for them, and women, whose weakness is a shield to them, were among the victims. There was no place of refuge. The spacious mosque of Omar was converted into a slaughter-house, and a torrent of blood, bearing with it the dissevered limbs of moslems, issued from it. *Aceldema* and *Golgotha* might be applied to the whole city. Churches were no sanctuary; and as for synagogues, they were reduced to ashes, and the Jews with them.

But the most revolting incident in the whole tragedy, is the quick and easy transition with which the soldiers of the cross passed from these crimson orgies, at the thought of which humanity shudders, to the solemnities of devotion, in which, with uncovered head and naked feet, they approached the sepulchre of Christ. A convincing proof that while effacing, with murderous hands, the living image of God, they thought

they were doing him service. After the first storm of vengeance had spent itself, there was a second massacre, which must have proceeded, not from the incensed passions, but from the cool reflection, and remorseless fanaticism, of the victors. In other circumstances, the sight of submissive and helpless wretchedness, would have excited the commiseration of the valiant knights of the crusade; but to show compassion and tenderness to the enemies of the cross would have been construed, at once, as an explicit renunciation of the character of the soldier and the christian.

Eight days after the capture of Jerusalem, the princes and people assembled for the important purpose of electing a sovereign. Baldwin was fixed in the principality of Edessa, and Bohemond in that of Antioch; Godfrey had never suffered his thoughts to stop short of, or fly off from, the great object of the expedition, the redemption of the holy sepulchre; his zeal, his courage, his wisdom, his piety, and his conduct, pleaded his cause with silent rhetoric, in the hearts of the electors; and he was unanimously chosen king of Jerusalem. He embraced the service, but declined the title and the pomp, alleging, that it ill became him to wear a golden diadem, where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns. The new state of Jerusalem was menaced immediately on its formation by the hostile approach of a numerous army of Egyptians, commanded by the Fatimite Sultan

whom Godfrey met and vanquished in the battle of Ascalon. His life closed five days before his reign had reached an year, and he was buried in the church of the holy sepulchre, amidst the deep and loud lamentations of his subjects. He was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, prince of Edessa, whose reign was graced with more honour and public spirit than his life. Having attained the summit of his ambition, he no more traversed the labyrinths of dark and selfish policy, but displayed the talents and virtues which command respect, and are adapted to strengthen and enlarge an infantile commonwealth. The third king of Jerusalem was Baldwin du Bourg, whose reign extended from the year 1118 to 1131. He also was a prince of wisdom and valour. Under the sceptre and sword of these martial chiefs, the new kingdom encreased in extent of territory and political strength; but the final result of the unparalleled expenditure of wealth and blood, lavished on the redemption of the holy sepulchre, corresponded with the folly and fanaticism of the enterprise.

A History of Intolerance might, with the utmost propriety, embrace an account of the crusades from the first to the last. But having given a pretty full and consecutive detail of the progress and achievements of the first of these religio-chivalrous expeditions, I do not regret that the limits I have prescribed to myself, prohibit all further diffuseness on this subject. In the first

place, a History of the Crusades has lately appeared by Mr. Mills, executed in a style, and with advantages, superior to what I can command or pretend to. In the next place, all subsequent expeditions, with the exceptions of names and dates, must be, in a great measure, a repetition of the first. A few general remarks and sketches, therefore, shall conclude this section.

It does not appear that the lawfulness of the crusades was ever debated or questioned in those days of turbulent agitation in which they engrossed the thoughts and absorbed the energies of Europe. When the passions are inflamed, and the desires fiercely set upon any fascinating object, there is seldom time, place, or inclination, to observe with what eyes justice may look upon the enterprise. To call the Holy Land God's heritage, which he had bequeathed to the christians, is to wrap our judgment up in the mists of an equivocating superstition. The christians had no better title to Palestine than to any other portion of the globe. They came into the possession of it, in the same way in which they became possessed of other countries; and they lost it through the imbecility which follows despotism and vice, and through the infatuation of superstitious piety. The Saracens and Turks held it, as they acquired it, by right of conquest, the same sort of title to which the *jus divinum* of almost every dominion may be traced, from the days of Nimrod to the present time. This kind

of title, like every other, derives confirmation and sanctity from time ; and from the period of Jerusalem's submission to the yoke of Mohammed, under the califate of Omar, to its redemption by Godfrey, was four hundred and sixty-two years.

The new monarchy of Jerusalem was embarrassed by the ambition of the clergy, who wished to exalt the crosier above the sword ; and so illiberal was their policy towards their brethren of the Greek church, whom they accused of schism and heresy, that they regretted the downfall of their Mohammedan masters. It is not strange that the wants of Jerusalem should soon call for a second crusade ; but it may justly excite astonishment, that Europe should be prepared to listen to the call. And, it is but just to observe, that when the demand was first made, it was heard with considerate coldness and hesitation ; but the scruples of reason and experience were soon dissipated by the irresistible eloquence and miracles of St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in Champagne. This ingenious and potent enthusiast accounted for the calamities which befel the first crusade, by referring them to the vices of the croises ; and expatiated, with fascinating elocution, on the disgraceful impiety of suffering the holy places to relapse into the hands of the infidels. So powerful was the address of St. Bernard, that it silenced the whispers of common sense, and burst asunder the connections of social life ; and the successful incendiary could

soon boast that, *towns were deserted, or peopled only with widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers were yet living.*

Louis VII. with his queen Eleanora, and the barons of France, and Conrad III. emperor of Germany, with the dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, took the cross, and marched in two vast armies into Asia. The sequel may fill a chapter, or be told in few words.—The expedition suffered much and did little; and its disastrous issue in shame, and in the destruction of property and lives, raised such a storm of indignation against St. Bernard, that he was near paying for the fame of his miracles and prophesies with the loss of his life.

The conduct of the Latins in Asia was in the highest degree adapted to multiply the numbers and enflame the animosity of enemies, especially amongst a people of mercurial temperament and vindictive passion. Nouredin and Saladin were both Mohammedan saints, and their bosoms burned with indignation against the infidels of the west, and with fierce impatience to avenge the insults they had offered to the Prophet, and the injuries they had done to his followers. The circumstances of Saladin were in the highest degree favourable to the accomplishment of the design he meditated. The conquests of the Franks had taught the Saracens and Turks the necessity of abandoning the discord and factions from which their implacable adversaries had de-

rived so many advantages, and of uniting their energies under the command of a skilful and intrepid warrior. If Saladin had been formed by the plastic hand of nature for the service, he could not have been better adapted to the exigencies of the islam. His eye saw, and his hand seized, the facilities of his situation ; by politic behaviour and address he excited the prejudices which would be useful to his designs ; his raiment was coarse, his fare homely, and on horseback, as he rode from one battle to another, he read the Koran ; and his stern and heroic mind looked with disdain on the baseness of injustice and the softness of luxury. Arabia, Egypt, and Syria, united under his sceptre ; and the martial spirits of the east were eager to rally and signalize their courage, under a prince, in whose soul the love of religion and glory burned with so bright a flame. The news that a holy war was in contemplation against the christians was heard with joy and applause through the moslem world ; and at the battle of Tiberias, A. D. 1187, Saladin vanquished the combined forces of the christian princes of Palestine, and made a prisoner of the king of Jerusalem. A still more important capture was made in a fragment of wood, reputed to be part of the cross, which artifice or superstition had brought to the battle ; and it is probable that the christians were as much dispirited by the loss of this odd implement of war, as the Israelites were, when the Philistines were in pos-

session of the ark. After the rout of the Franks at Tiberias, Cesarea, Beritus, Acre, and Jaffa, bowed their necks to the moslem yoke; and in a short time, Saladin stood before the gates of Jerusalem, demanded the submission of the city, and declared his unwillingness to stain with blood a place which had been hallowed by the presence of God's messengers. To the inhabitants, amounting to about a hundred thousand, he offered money and settlements in Syria, on condition of their peaceable surrender. The overture was rejected; and the exasperated conqueror swore that he would enter the city, sword in hand, and retaliate the massacre of the unoffending moslems in the days of Godfrey of Bouillon. For fourteen days of obstinate conflict, the walls of Jerusalem resisted the assailants, at the end of which, they gave way, and the banners of Saladin waved in triumph over the ramparts. The victor achieved a still more illustrious conquest in restraining the vindictive feelings of his own bosom, and treating his captives with clemency. When the queen, with her retinue of ladies approached him in the attitude of supplicants, his stern heart melted into tenderness, and he received them with courtesy and commiseration. His kindness emboldened them to ask the liberation of their fathers, their husbands, and their brothers; which was promptly granted, with the addition of some presents from his own spontaneous bounty. After the redemption of the captives and the evacuation

of the city ; the conqueror made his entry in solemn pomp ; the great crucifix was taken down from the church of the sepulchre ; the mosque of Omar was purified with rose water ; the koran became the code of legislation, and the islam resumed its ascendancy.

Europe was thunderstruck at the news of the catastrophe of Jerusalem. Was it for this that so many christian countries had lavished their treasures, and sent forth the flower of their youth ?

Another melancholy circumstance attending this unlooked for revolution was, that the evanescence of the christian power in Asia was attributed to the monstrous prevalence of crime amongst the new occupants of the holy places. Was there, then, so little virtue in the sacred relics of Palestine, the sight of which was sought, with infinite toil, and at the risque of life itself ? The waters of the Jordan could no more purify the moral leper than those of the Thames, the Seine, or the Tyber. Where then was the expediency of the crusades ? Why such fighting and shedding of blood for a tombstone ? The devotion which requires to be nourished by material objects resembles that state of health which languishes in the use of plain wholesome food, and craves stimulants. To know Christ *after the flesh* is not the knowledge which makes a christian. In ages past, there were certain localities of revealed religion which demanded attention ; but it is long since the lines of demarcation which separated

jews and gentiles, and places holy, from places not holy, were obliterated; and a worship instituted, unincumbered by ceremonious rites, and which can be offered, with equal ease and efficacy, in every region and clime under the sun.

It may be said in palliation of the vicious conduct of the croises, that their circumstances were unfriendly to virtue. Prosperity and adversity attended them, with sudden alternations, like the storms and sunshine of an April day. At one moment they were exposed to pride, folly, and intemperance, by security and affluence; at another, they were tempted to rapine, desperation, and impiety, in consequence of their not being able to satisfy the cravings of hunger and thirst. In the place of having a competent supply of their wants, which is most favourable to an irreproachable behaviour, they fluctuated between the extremes of abundance and indigence.

Almost immediately after the loss of Jerusalem was known in Europe, preparations were commenced for a third crusade. A tax, called the Saladin tythe, was levied on the property, both moveable and immoveable, of all such as refused to take the cross. Henry II. of England contributed most liberally to the expences of the war; and his son, the lion-hearted Richard, when he came to the throne, set up the crown lands and the offices of his government to sale, in order to meet the demands of the crusade. The strength of his army may be inferred from the circum-

stance, that two hundred ships, of various sizes, were employed to transport his stores, horses, and men. The English monarch was joined by Philip Augustus, king of France, and the armies of the two rival nations, were united in the siege of Ptolemais or Acre. The contest of the moslems and christians at Acre was long, obstinate, and fierce; the former were animated and commanded by the greatest warrior of the east, and the latter by two of the most heroic princes of the west. In the issue, Saladin was obliged to capitulate with his enemies and evacuate Acre, after which Philip Augustus hastened home; but in the breast of the British monarch the love of martial glory still predominated over the suggestions of wisdom and the calls of patriotism. The loss of the croises at Acre is variously computed from one, to three, hundred thousand lives. From Acre, king Richard marched in a southerly direction towards Jerusalem; but his vigilant enemy obstructed his progress, and at Azotus the two armies came to a general engagement in the open country, in which the personal strength, bravery, and generalship, of Plantagenet, rose above all competition and snatched the palm of victory. At Jaffa also the British hero performed prodigies by his dauntless and impetuous courage; but when he came near to Jerusalem, he found that the strength of his army was not equal to the formidable enterprise, and he refused to indulge his eyes with the sight of a city which

he could not conquer. The wars of king Richard and the Sultan, which drenched the Holy Land with the blood of hostile martyrs, were terminated by a treaty, in which it was stipulated that Jaffa and Tyre should be surrendered to the christians, and that the pilgrims of the west should be allowed to visit and perform their devotions in Jerusalem, without the payment of taxes. Saladin ended his days at Damascus a few months after the departure of Richard. He was a stern advocate of the Koran ; but the ferocity of his creed was, in some instances, checked and mitigated by the generous feelings of nature ; he was covetous of power, but moderate in the use of it ; his administration of government was characterized by mildness and justice, and in his person and manners, he showed a magnanimous disdain of the empty parade of ostentatious grandeur. The life of Saladin was consumed in war, and he died without having taken the necessary precautions by his wisdom for perpetuating the power which he had acquired in arms. Three of his descendants asserted their independence, the first in Egypt, the second in Aleppo, and the third in Damascus ; but the chief part of his greatness devolved to his brother Saphadin. The time of the truce agreed to by Richard and Saladin expired, and peace was continued ; and it is probable that the moslems and christians would have prolonged the peace still further, but for the arrival of fresh squadrons of croises, who were impatient to advance against the infidels.

The fourth crusade may be represented by any thing which imports futility and insignificance. The fifth was formidable, but it was diverted from its object to the siege and capture of Constantinople. The leaders of this crusade resolved to strengthen themselves by the alliance and co-operation of the maritime republic of Venice. For this purpose they dispatched six deputies, with powers to enter into a treaty with the lofty queen of the Adriatic. On the arrival of the deputies, several days were spent in deliberation, after which, the doge, Henry Dandolo, announced that the republic would, for eighty-five thousand marks of silver, furnish flat-bottomed vessels for the passage of four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand squires, and ships for four thousand five hundred knights, and twenty thousand foot soldiers, together with provisions for one year. Venice would likewise become a principal in the war, and support fifty gallies of her own, on condition that the fruits of conquest should be equally shared between the two allied nations. The deputies acceded to the terms, and a public meeting was called in the chapel of St. Mark for the solemn ratification of the treaty.

In the mean time, Innocent III. exerted his ghostly attributes, and his nuncios and legates traversed Europe to circulate the merchandise of pardons and indulgences, and multiply the votaries of the cross. About the same time, there sprung up a third incendiary in the person of

Fulk of Nuilly, who followed the steps of Peter and Bernard, and roused, by his eloquence and miracles, the minds of peaceable men, to participate in the popular honours of sacred warfare and the delectable visions of fanaticism.

At the time when the warriors of France and Venice were about to set sail for the east, the throne of Constantinople was occupied by an usurper, who had confined the lawful sovereign in a prison. Irene, a daughter of the deposed emperor was married to Philip, duke of Swabia, who sent messengers to the cavaliers of France to say, That as they had undertaken a long and perilous pilgrimage for the love of God, and for the maintenance of right and justice, so they ought to be ready to use their swords for the restoration of a dethroned prince. He represented further, that this would be the way to heal schism, and bring the eastern church into subjection to the church of Rome. The French had already diverged from the object of their enrollment, by assisting the Venetians in the subjugation of Zara; and notwithstanding the reprehensions of the pope, who was on good terms with the usurper, the new project was adopted, and the cavaliers and republicans set sail for Constantinople, where they arrived in the month of June A. D. 1203. They were filled with astonishment at the first sight of the lofty walls, massive bulwarks, and splendid palaces, of the city of Constantine; but their fears yielded to their

courage, and their courage triumphed over the throne of the ancient Cæsars, of which they kept possession for fifty-seven years, at the expiration of which, it was recovered by Michael Paleologus.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, and the revolution and counter-revolutions consequent upon it, were followed by the perpetration of every crime, for the prevention or suppression of which, capital punishments have been enacted. From the abodes of the living, the rapacious conquerors descended to the receptacles of the dead, and stripped the mouldering remains of imperial greatness. The sacredness of churches, of altars, and of female beauty, was no protection against rude spoliation; and the elegant and fascinating monuments of ancient art and genius were mutilated and destroyed by the ignorant and ruthless savages. When the new masters of the Byzantine capital had elected an emperor from among themselves, they proceeded to acts of legislation, in which they embodied the execrable bigotry of the west; they abolished the liturgy of the eastern church, and excluded the Greeks from offices of trust and emolument in their own country. The despicable arts of selfishness and superstition, however, turned to the prejudice of those who used them, and caused the Latin empire of Constantinople to be distracted by weakness, jealousy, and discord, until it was lost.

The sixth crusade was promoted by the letters, the eloquence, and the diplomatic artifices of In-

nocent III.; by the lofty minstrelsy of the Troubadours, and by the harangues of Robert de Courcon. This man had been the associate of Innocent before his elevation to the papacy. The pontiff remembered the companion of his youth, and conferred on him the hat and the purple of a cardinal; but he could never endue him with common sense. Hence all were welcome to the standard of Courcon; the old, the blind, the decrepid: women, children, and madmen, mouths without hands. This indiscreet reception of pilgrims gave offence to the haughty cavaliers, who did not choose to associate with such a heterogeneous mob. Under the sixth crusade, the plan of operation was changed, and Egypt was made the theatre of the war. The siege of Damietta was begun in the month of May A. D. 1218, and the croises became masters of the city in the month of November, the year following. The overflowing of the Nile produced a pestilence in the camp of the croises, to which Robert de Courcon fell a victim. Obstinate resistance and extreme sufferings also generated a contagious disease among the moslems in Damietta, which proved fatal to many of their conquerors. Much misery was brought on the croises in Egypt, by the rash and unskilful conduct of Pelagius, the pope's legate, who, averse to peace, and unfit for war, had assumed the command of the army.

In the year 1222, Violante, daughter of the king of Jerusalem, (for the vain title was kept up)

was espoused to Frederic II. of Germany. This was an excellent devise for engaging the saturnine heart of a German in the holy wars. It was a bad stroke of policy, however, which allowed the young emperor to embrace the fair recompense before he had performed the stipulated service ; and Gregory IX. found it expedient again and again, to launch the thunders of the Vatican to rouse the zeal and quicken the progress of the reluctant hero. When Frederick arrived in Palestine, he was under sentence of excommunication, which exposed him to the abhorrence of the people he came to succour ; and as he did not regard spiritual thunderbolts, the pope caused the imperial towns in Italy to be burnt, and the subjects of the emperor to be plundered and imprisoned, in order to cause his return. Frederic made himself still more odious to the bigots, by entering into amicable negociations with the moslems, in which it was agreed, that the contending parties should live in peace for ten years, and that Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jaffa, and Jerusalem itself, should be restored to the christians. The wisdom and moderation of Frederic made him unfit for the crusades ; but though he fought little, he achieved much ; he was shunned by the people he relieved as an excommunicated person, and the patriarch of Jerusalem would not be guilty of his coronation ; but the successor of Charlemagne took the crown from off the altar and put it on his own head, after which he returned to Europe in the

year 1229. The first sentence of excommunication, denounced against Frederic, was because he did not go to the holy wars, the second was because he did.

The three last crusades occupy the intermediate period between the years 1239 and 1291, when the holy wars came to an ignominious termination in the final expulsion of the croises from Palestine. In the year 1249 Louis IX of France set sail for Egypt at the head of fifty thousand warriors. On his arrival in the Nile, he sent heralds to announce his approach, and to know if the Sultan would receive priests to teach the christian religion to the people of Egypt, and to try the force of terror in case of a refusal. The Sultan replied "That he also knew the use of arms, and like the French, inherited valour. The cause of the moslems was that of justice; and the Koran declared, *that they who make war unjustly shall perish.* The armies of the christians might be more numerous than the Mameluke bands; but the word of God also said, *How often have the most numerous armies been destroyed by a handful of soldiers?*" These anticipations of the Sultan, in which there would seem to be some portion of prescience, were awfully justified by the event of the war. The French army, which was strengthened by the presence of the military orders of Jerusalem, and a hundred English knights, led by William Longsword, marched for Grand Cairo, the capital of Egypt, but were

not able to advance further than Massoura, under whose walls the count of Artois, and William Longsword fell, and in the vicinity of which, the king himself was defeated and taken prisoner. Damietta was surrendered as the price of the French king's redemption, and Egypt was evacuated by the croises.

The Mamelukes of Egypt were originally a horde of Tartars, who left their native plains and forests in the north of Asia under the command of the Great Zengis or Gengis Khan; but their conquering sway soon extended from Egypt to Arabia and Palestine. In the year 1268, they became masters of the city and principality of Antioch, the loss of which by the Latins, was attended with the destruction of forty thousand, and the captivity of one hundred thousand, christians. Two years after this event, St. Louis spread his sails a second time for the Holy Land; but his troops clamoured to be led to the siege of Tunis, where the royal and heroic Saint of France became the victim of a pestilential disease. In the following year, 1271, prince Edward of England, arrived at Acre, surrounded with the pride and pomp of British chivalry. He took Nazareth, and made it flow with moslem blood; in return for which, an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate him with a poisoned dagger, which gave rise to the pleasing fiction of his life being saved by the prompt and adventurous affection of his lady Elenor. On his recovery from

his dangerous wound, Edward entered into a negotiation with the Sultan of Egypt, in which he obtained advantageous and honourable terms for the Latins, after which, he embarked with his train for Europe. After the departure of the British prince, the treaty of peace and amity which he had concluded with the Sultan, was violated by some of the christians, who robbed and tortured nineteen moslem traders. Acre, the chief seat of the Latin power, was so distracted by litigious factions, that the voice of order and justice was not to be heard, and the outrage passed unpunished. To avenge this base infraction of public faith, the Sultan of Egypt assembled his hardy Mamelukes, and Acre became the scene of the last sanguinary struggle between the oriental and occidental nations, for the possession of Palestine. The moslem army consisted of sixty thousand horse and a hundred and forty thousand foot ; the Latins were inferior in number, and a considerable portion of their strength was rendered ineffectual, through the want of subordination and discipline. The cavaliers and knights, who had sworn to defend the holy land to the last extremity, performed prodigies of valour, and the sands of Acre were once more drenched with the blood of hostile legions. After the fortifications had yielded to the military engines of the Mamelukes, the entrance into the city was repeatedly lost and won in the vicissitudes of heroism ; but the Sultan was invincible in the numerical force of

his army; the Knights Templars and Hospitalians fell one after another covered with wounds; some of the less warlike croises made their escape to the island of Cyprus, and the rest became a helpless prey in the hands of the victorious and insulting foe. Thus terminated, in defeat and ignominy, the Holy wars, which for two centuries had absorbed the riches, the strength, and the fanaticism of Europe.

On a general view of the crusades, it may be affirmed, that folly and vice never had a more potent, more continuous, or a more eventful dominion connected with the christian name, than in them. Errors of judgment and practice are, in some circumstances, so complicated with each other as to be alternately cause and effect. Opinions founded in delusion had a considerable agency in the crusades; the barbarous fanaticism of the times procured for such opinions an easy admittance, and a long and effective sway; and both sentiments and conduct tended to produce a tone of feeling directly hostile to a christian spirit.

Nothing is more detrimental to the honour of the christian name and the usefulness of evangelical truth, than the engrafting of a fierce, uncharitable, and intolerant spirit, on the doctrines, discipline, and institutions, of christian worship. This was done in the crusades by a series of events and operations, which engrossed for a long period of time the thoughts, the passions, and the energies of the christian world, and which were highly adapted to impress their own image.

The disposition of a man's heart, and the bias of his mind, are of more consequence than any little niceties in the shape of his body. And the spirit of christianity as connected with its profession is equally paramount and important.

Now, suppose we were to ask concerning the crusades, whose image and superscription do they bear, whose spirit do they breathe? Could we reply, *of him who rebuked his disciples when they wished to bring down fire from heaven on those who refused to receive him, when he stood before them in person?—of him who came, not to destroy men's lives but to save?*

Do they not rather breathe the dire wrath of Achilles, or the fury of the fabled Alecto? They made war, *offensive* war, which whether considered in cause, in fact, or in consequence, may be pronounced an epitome of all evil, a profession, nay a *holy* profession. Military orders were instituted as of the Knights Templars, Knights Hospitalians, and the Teutonic Knights, in which the killing of infidels was connected with prayer and charity, and made obligatory by religious vows. In the room of that placid and benign countenance which says *Peace on earth, good will to men*, whether believers or infidels; the religion of the croises presented a dark and lowering visage, lighted up with the repulsive glare of vengeful feeling, and smeared with blood.

It is not to be denied that, in some instances, generous qualities shone forth in the actions of

the croises ; but every thing of this nature must be considered as an exception to the general character of the holy wars. The union of the attributes of the saint and the soldier, a coalition abhorrent from reason and religion, was made under the crusades, not by a transient burst of impassioned zeal, but by the slow and durable operation of papal despotism and legislative authority. Thus was accomplished, diffused, and perpetuated, a most essential and malignant corruption of the evangelical œconomy. Had the martial pilgrims gone to the east under the pretence of succouring afflicted christians, it might have been supposed that their feelings responded to the melting tones of sympathy ; but they did not mince the matter or boggle at hard words. Vengeance and annihilation were their objects in respect to the moslems, and all others deemed inimical to the peace and exaltation of the church.

The multiplication of the crusades is a proof of the malicious and intolerant spirit which they cherished. They excited rancour against all who could not, or would not, pronounce the shibboleth of the church. Hence, they were preached not only against the moslems of Syria and Spain, but also against the Albigenses of France, the schismatics of Constantinople, the emperors of Germany, and the pagans of Prussia and Livonia.

When we reflect on the hundreds of thousands who lost their lives fighting for religion in the crusades, it is melancholy to observe that their

conduct was so little in harmony with the object of their zeal. What must the infidels have thought of christianity if they judged of it by the manners of the croises!

Some have been industrious in setting forth the civil and political benefits resulting from the crusades. This has been done out of respect to a fashionable theory adopted without sufficient pains being taken to ascertain, if it was substantiated by matter of fact. An æra of melioration began to dawn on Europe soon after the termination of the crusades; but contemporaneous events are not always related to each other as cause and effect. Great agitations in society, even of the worst kind, may be productive of incidental benefits, as they tend to dissipate mental slumber, and quicken the torpid faculties of the human soul. But the strong hand of wise and just authority must be exerted to curb the excesses of rising and salient passions. When the nations of the west were roused to ardour and enterprise by the shrill trumpet of crusading enthusiasm, their energies were all directed in one course; the rage of ferocious war was predominant over every other feeling; the extreme wretchedness in which the croises were often plunged was a fatal hindrance to the excursions of reason and fancy in quest of improvement; and the vast bodies in which they moved, and the suspicious, or hostile, eye with which they were generally beheld, precluded all friendly and familiar interchange of sentiment

between them and foreigners. But if the civil and political benefits attributed to the crusades were trifling and doubtful, the moral evils connected with them were serious and certain. Villany and baseness broke forth without restraint, and presented many a sad spectacle of turpitude and guilt. There is no reason for supposing that the croises were greater monsters of depravity than others would be in a similar situation; but they were inspired with a deadly inspiration; they were also released from the salutary discipline of those forms of rectitude and decency to which they were compelled to pay some deference at home, and were exposed to the many and formidable temptations, which always attend a state of migration and anarchy. It is no wonder that vice should be rampant among vast assemblages of people, so perilously circumstanced, and that their wars, (if the time was come to call things by their right names,) should deserve to be characterized by any other epithet rather than that of *holy*.*

* My principal guide in what relates to the crusades is Mr. Mills, to whose elaborate and luminous work, I would refer such of my readers, as may wish for more copious information.

The Abbe Mariti seems to have formed a just, that is, a very low, estimate of the merit of the holy wars. After describing the kingdom of Assassins headed by the old man of the mountain, he proceeds—"I may venture to affirm, much to the shame of the eastern empires, that the establishment of the Assassins, and their future conduct, were owing in a great measure to the behaviour of the crusaders; because, being authorised in their mission by papal indulgences, and benedictions, they thought

that every thing they did was lawful, and that by murder and rapine they should secure a place in heaven.

The expeditions set on foot for the deliverance of the sepulchre became so prejudicial to manners, that if the christians did not change their religion, they readily adopted the vices of the conquered countries, while they retained their own; and from this double source of corruption proceeded all those infamous actions, which the historians cannot relate without blushing — They, indeed, who from the remotest parts of Europe had come to disturb the peace of another hemisphere, to dethrone lawful princes, and to cover the plains with slaughter and desolation, could no longer say that *their* God had founded his law upon concord and mutual love; that he commanded mankind to respect each other's property; and, above all, that he abhorred the shedding of human blood."—*Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, Vol. I.* 267, 271.

Cardinal Fleury's Discourse on the Crusades abounds with free and judicious remarks. The language of sober criticism and common sense has this advantage, that whether it comes from a cardinal or a heretic, or a man who is both, it wants no voucher.

"I return to my point," says this great and liberal critic, "that we should not endeavour to overset a false religion, or to extend the true one by arms and violence. It is not the infidels, but infidelity which we must destroy; by preserving the lives of men, and by convincing them of their errors. In a word, the only true method is, to persuade and to convert. I know the common prejudice, that it is impossible to convert Mohammedans; and it is this which induces the most zealous missionaries to pass on beyond them, and preach the gospel in India and China. But I suspect that the foundations of this opinion are not solid. Jesus Christ, who commands his disciples to instruct all nations, hath excepted none; and the ancient prophecies, declaring the conversion of all nations, have made no distinction. Can it be possible that so many different nations reunited under the religion of Mohammed, and occupying so considerable a part of the earth, should be the only ones excluded from these magnificent promises?"

"They are neither atheists nor idolaters. On the contrary, their religion, false as it is, hath many principles common with the true one, which seem to dispose them to receive it. They believe in one God Almighty, creator of all, just and merciful; they abhor polytheism and idolatry; they hold the immortality of the soul, a final judgment, a heaven and a hell, angels good and evil, and even guardian angels; they acknowledge an universal deluge; they honour the patriarch Abraham as the father and the first author of their religion; they hold Moses and Christ to have been great prophets sent from God; and the law and the gospel to be sacred books."

To these remarks of Cardinal Fleury, I beg leave to subjoin Doctor Algazali's interpretation of the two articles of the Mohammedan faith, viz. *There is one God, and Mohammed is the apostle of God.* It is translated by Ockley in the II. Vol. of his History of the Saracens, and is curious as a specimen of moslem theology.

"Praise be to God, the creator and restorer of all things; who does whatsoever he pleases, who is master of the glorious throne and mighty force, and directs his sincere servants into the right way; who favoureth them, after they have born testimony to the UNITY, with the preservation of their confessions from the darkness of doubt and hesitation; who directs them to follow his chosen apostle, upon whom be the blessing and peace of God, and to go after his most honourable companions to whom he hath vouchsafed his direction which is revealed to them in his essence and operations, by the excellencies of his attributes, to the knowledge whereof no man attains, but he that hath been taught by hearing. Who maketh known to them, that as touching his essence, he is one, who hath no partner; singular, without any thing like him; uniform, having no contrary; separate, having no equal. That he is ancient, having no first; eternal having no beginning; remaining for ever, having no end. Who never did cease, nor ever shall cease to be described by glorious attributes, nor is subject to any decree so as to be determined by any precise limits or set times, but is the first and the last, and is within and without.

(What he is not.) And that he, glorified be his name, is not a body endued with form, circumscribed by limits, or determined by measure. Neither is he a substance, nor do substances exist in him; neither is he an accident, nor do accidents exist in him; neither is he like to any thing, nor is any thing like to him; he is not terminated by bounds, nor contained in the heavens. But he sits upon the throne; yet he is above the throne, and above all things even to the utmost ends of the earth; but so above as at the same time not to be a whit nearer the throne and the heaven, since he is exalted by infinite degrees above the throne, no less than he is exalted above the earth; and at the same time is near to every thing that hath a being, nay nearer to men than their jugular veins, and is witness to every thing; but his nearness is not like the nearness of bodies, nor is his essence like the essence of bodies.

(His power.) And that he, praised be his name, is living, powerful, mighty, omnipotent, not liable to any defect or impotence; he neither slumbers, nor sleeps, nor is obnoxious to decay or death. The heavens are folded up in his right hand, and all the creatures are couched within his grasp. He created men and their works, and measured out their maintenance, and their determined times. The effects of his power are innumerable.

(His knowledge.) And that he, praised be his name, knows all things that can be understood, and comprehends whatsoever passes, from the extremities of the earth to the highest heavens. He views the conceptions of the mind, and the motions of the thoughts. He knows, not by a new knowledge, superadded to his essence, but by an ancient knowledge that never ceased to be his attribute.

(His will.) And that he, praised be his name, doth *will* those things to be that are; there passeth nothing in the empire nor the kingdom, neither little nor much, nor good nor evil, nor profitable nor hurtful, nor faith nor infidelity, nor knowledge nor ignorance, nor prosperity nor adversity, nor increase or decrease, nor obedience or rebellion, but by his definite sentence and will. There is ~~no~~ reversing his decree, nor delaying what he hath determined; nor hath any man any power to

perform any duty towards him, but through his love and will. Though men and genii, angels and devils, should conspire together either to put one single atom in motion, or cause it to cease its motion, without his will and approbation, they would not be able to do it.

(Hearing and sight.) Distance is no hindrance to his hearing, nor darkness to his sight.

(His word.) The Koran, the Law, the Gospel, and the Psalter, are books sent down by him to his apostles; and the Koran is read with tongues, written in books, and kept in hearts, yet so as to be of old subsisting in the essence of God.

(His works.) He created all things out of mere privation for the manifestation of his power and the confirmation of his word. He rewards the obedience of those who worship him, on account of his promise and beneficence, not out of merit or necessity.

(Signification of the second article.) The most High sent Mohammed, the illiterate prophet, of the family of the Koreish, to deliver his message to all the Arabs, and Barbarians, and Genii, and men; and abrogated by his religion all other religions; and gave him the preference over all the rest of the prophets, and made him Lord over all mortal men. And he hath made it necessary to men to give credit to him in those things which he hath related both with regard to this present world, and the life to come. For a man's faith is not accepted till he is fully persuaded of those things which he hath affirmed shall be after death. The first of which is the examination of Munkir and Nakir, who are two persons of a most terrible and horrible aspect who will set every man upright in his grave, and ask him concerning the *unity* and the *mission*, saying, who is thy Lord? What is thy religion? And who is thy prophet? He shall also believe in the balance with two scales and a beam that shall equal the extent of the heavens and the earth, wherein the works of men shall be weighed by the power of God; at which time weights not heavier than atoms or mustard-seeds shall be brought out that things may be balanced with the utmost exactness. Then the books of the good works, beautiful

to behold, shall be cast into the balance of light, by which the balance shall be depressed according to their degrees out of the favour of God. But the books of evil deeds, nasty to look upon, shall be cast into the balance of darkness, by which the scale shall lightly ascend by the justice of the most High.

He must also believe that there is a way extended over the middle of hell, sharper than a sword, and finer than a hair, upon which the feet of infidels shall slip, by the decree of God, so as that they shall fall into hell-fire, while the feet of the faithful shall remain firm, and they shall be conducted into the eternal habitation.

He shall also believe in the pond of Mohammed out of which the faithful shall drink before they enter into paradise, and out of which, whosoever drinketh once, shall thirst no more for ever. Its breadth is a month's journey, it is whiter than milk, and sweeter than honey. Round about it stand cups as innumerable as the stars, and it hath two canals whereby the water of the river Cauthar flows into it.

He shall also believe that they who confess one God shall at length go out of the fire, after they have undergone the punishment due to their sins, so that by the favourable mercy of God, no person shall remain in hell who acknowledged the unity of the Godhead.

These are the things that every one is obliged to believe and confess that would be accounted worthy of the name of a moslem, and that according to the literal meaning of the words, not as they may be made capable of any sounder sense."

When I first cast my eye over this commentary on the moslem symbol, I purposed to transcribe it without any abridgment; but on a closer inspection I found it so replete with repetitions of the same idea, and with unnecessary words, that it appeared expedient to free it from these encumbrances. The reduction of the size, has increased the strength, of the composition. This abstract contains every sentiment of any weight, or in any degree characteristic of the Mohammedan creed, which is found in Doctor Algazali's exposition, in its most diffuse shape.

SECTION IV.

On Schism, Heresy, Unity, and Uniformity.

MANY a harsh measure, subversive of religious freedom, and pregnant with political mischief, has been devised and carried into effect, under the specious pretence of suppressing schism and heresy, and promoting unity and uniformity. It is fit and expedient, therefore, that these things should be enquired into. To cut up and destroy the deadly night-shade of intolerance, it must be rooted out of this favourite soil, in which it has had a long and luxuriant vegetation.

If schismatics and heretics could not be exonerated from the reproach thrown upon them, but at the expence of truth, their cause would be a bad one. Truth is the proper furniture of the soul, and should be held in estimation next to the soul itself. The dignity of our rational and immortal nature is concerned in the pursuit and attainment of the truth, which is entitled to everlasting honour on account of its intrinsic worth and salutary use, and is never to be treated with levity and indifference, much less with scorn and contempt. The greatest messenger that ever came into the world, clothed with the authority of heaven, came to bear witness to the truth. "If ye continue in my words," said the Saviour to the

Jews, "ye shall know the truth"; and whereas, they were the miserable slaves of ignorance, superstition, and vice, the knowledge of the truth should make them free. Divine truth is impressed with the image and authority of God, and is the means of conveying the richest blessings of his beneficence to man.

But it would be extremely rash and unjust to conclude, because any body of people has been stigmatized with the opprobrious names of schismatics and heretics, that therefore the truth was on the side of their accusers. This is one among many subjects, in which we must guard against being led into an erroneous judgment by the illusion of fair and foul names, alternately misapplied.

Since the church has been so much pestered with schismatics and heretics, we naturally look to her to learn, what it is that makes a man one or the other. But this is a lesson which she does not teach in any very lucid style. The see of Constantinople was the grand mint and emporium of schism. This was owing, not to any peculiar want of infallibility, but to the subtle and vivacious genius of the Greeks, and to their strong propensity to controversy, which made them prolific in new ideas, or rather, in novel representations of old ones. There were, indeed, so many toils set to catch all sorts of delinquents who might transgress in matters of judgment or fancy, that it was almost impossible to escape except by

downright listlessness and slumber. Hence the wisdom of the *fides carbonaria* or faith of a collier, who being asked what he believed, answered, *I believe what the church believes*. And what does the church believe? *The church believes what I believe?* And what do you and the church believe? *Why, truly, sir, the church and I believe the same thing*. The collier was more wise in his generation, than the emperor Constantine Copronymus, who asked the patriarch, what harm there would be in calling the Virgin Mary the mother of Christ? *God preserve your Majesty*, answered the patriarch, *from entertaining such a thought*. *Do you not see how Nestorius is anathematized for this by the whole church?* “I only asked for my own information,” replied the emperor, “but let it go no farther.”

The point in dispute between Cyril and Nestorius was, whether the Virgin Mary should be called the *mother of God*, or the *mother of Christ*? Nestorius contended for the latter, probably, as being most agreeable with just conceptions of the divine Majesty; for which he was condemned by the Council of Ephesus, without being heard in his own defence, degraded from his episcopal rank, and sent into exile, where he ended his days. This harsh treatment contributed much to the popularity of his cause, and the diffusion of his doctrine.*

* Dupin's account of Euthérius, bishop of Tyana, throws some light on the Nestorian controversy, and is not foreign from the general subject of this work.

The heresy of Eutyches, sprang up almost immediately after that of Nestorius, and was a kind of antithesis to it, being the extreme of orthodoxy on the opposite side. It does not appear, that either Nestorius, or Eutyches, designed to call in question the divinity of Christ, or impugn any other article of christian faith or morals; no exception was taken against their manners; and if their speculations were neither modest nor rational, the same may be affirmed of those of their enemies.

Euthenius, of all the bishops of the party of Nestorius, hath left us the most considerable monument. In the first place, he describes the persecutions which he pretends were prepared for those of his party to suffer. These are his words: "It is said that our enemies will not content themselves to go on in their old courses, to work the ruin of the simple and unwary, but that they have a design boldly to attempt whatever they please; that being supported by the sovereign power, they will force others to be of their opinion; that they will require obedience to their commands immediately, and deliver those to punishment who do not obey.—I do not mention the bonds, disgrace, and torments, which they shall suffer, and the tragical sight of those whom they will put to death. And what is most to be lamented is this, that the bishops are the authors of this tragedy. Profane compulsion! When they begin to celebrate the holy mysteries, or teach the people, they have in their mouth this heavenly speech *peace be with you all*. Nothing is so urgently commanded in the holy scripture as gentleness and kindness; why then do they condemn us, without knowing our cause? Why do they conceal their cruelty under the shadow of false zeal? Why do they cover their detestable politics with the name of wisdom? The lamentations of Jeremiah are not sufficient to describe so great evils."

A third heresy sprang up in the fifth century, in which the chair of orthodoxy itself was implicated. Pelagius, the Britannic serpent, as he was called, appealed from an African synod, by which he and his doctrine had been condemned, to pope Zosimus, who pronounced the heretic sound in the faith, and excommunicated Heros and Lazarus, his two principal accusers.

Pelagius the Briton, and Celestius the Irishman, his disciple and coadjutor, were both acknowledged to be men of eminent piety and vir-

On this passage Mr. Dupin makes this remarkable reflection:—Hence we may see that it is not a late invention, for persons who are not willing to forsake their errors, to make those charitable severities which are made use of to recover them, to pass for insupportable violences and unheard of cruelties.

The principles, continues our author, which Eutherius lays down in the following part, are very agreeable with those of the protestants. In the first article, he opposes those who will have it determined *where the truth is*, by the judgment of the greater number. “Jesus Christ,” says he, “is the truth, and it is he that we ought to consult. This being so, are not they to be pitied, who judge of the force and authority of a doctrine, only by the number of those who approve of it, without considering that our Lord chose illiterate and poor men, whom he made use of to convert the world. He required that millions of men should yield themselves to the doctrines of these twelve. Thus hath the truth always triumphed, although it were among the smallest number; and whoever he be, that despairing to prove what he affirms, flies to the authority of the multitude, confesses himself vanquished.”

In the second chapter, Eutherius opposes those who maintain that it is needless to search the holy scripture, that we may

ture, and it is probable that they were sincere and disinterested in their persuasion that the doctrine of the church, concerning the hereditary corruption of human nature, was untrue and liable to a pernicious application.

About the middle of the fourth century, Liberius, bishop of Rome, took part with the emperor Constantius, who was an Arian, and excommunicated Athanasius. Liberius veered about from side to side, in a way which leaves a suspicion either on his rectitude or firmness, on which account it is difficult to defend him against the imputation of heretical weakness, I will not say pravity. In the fourteenth century, pope Honorius fell into the heresy of the Monothelites, for which he was anathematized after his death by a general council, in the presence of the legates of Agatho his successor. And in the fourteenth century, pope John XXII. delivered some discourses in

know what we ought to believe. "Would you have me, saith he, neglect the study of the holy scripture? Whence then shall I have the knowledge necessary to support my faith? It is dangerous for this life to be ignorant of the Roman laws, and it is no less dangerous for another life, to be ignorant of the oracles of our heavenly king. The scripture is the nourishment of the soul; suffer not then the inward man to die with hunger, by depriving him of the word of God. There are too many who inflict mortal wounds on their souls; suffer them to seek medicines for their maladies."

We must own, says Mr. Dupin, that these principles are not ill, although men may offend in the application they make of them.—He hath written with much elegance and reason.

Biblioth. Vol. I. p. 444.

which he declared, that the souls of the faithful are not permitted to behold the beatific vision till after the resurrection; which was pronounced heresy by an assembly of Parisian doctors, and the king of France, (if cardinal d'Ailly may be credited), threatened to have him burned, if he did not recant. Is it to avoid the tremendous peril of heresy and combustion that the holy fathers have left off the good old custom of preaching?

It is said that Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, abhorred heretics; it is also said that he used to justify his own conduct in this respect, by citing that of the apostle John, who seeing Cerinthus coming to the bath, hastily fled without bathing, fearing that the building would fall, because Cerinthus the enemy of the truth was there. Marcion accidentally met Polycarp and desired that he would vouchsafe to notice him; Polycarp answered, *I know that thou art the eldest son of the devil.**

Irenæus, who was a disciple of Polycarp, wrote five books against heresies. One of the best things he says is, *Heretici sunt qui supra Scripturam sapiunt.* This excellent canon of interpretation, fixes the charge of heresy with a vengeance on those orthodox churchmen, who have been indefatigable in burning heretics. The act itself is demonstration, and as the largest fires that were ever kindled, could not produce light

* Dupin Biblioth. Vol. I. p. 60.

enough to discover a divine authority for burning heretics, they only serve to render the heresy of the incendiaries the more apparent and incontestable.

In the middle ages, the ministers of the church proceeded so far in the mazes of absurdity, that they rendered theology a mere *caput mortuum*, a lifeless, useless, and unsightly mass of mysterious phrases, idle mummary, and unintelligible dogmas. Common sense, that light of heaven which shines in the minds of all, was abandoned, as a mere vulgar endowment, and every thing was submitted to the laws and syllogisms of an artificial ratiocination. No method of philosophising can be better adapted to mislead the understanding than this. Hence, the learned and subtle jargon of the Realists and Nominalists, which was employed, with so much warmth, in the controversies of the middle ages.

There are instances without number, in which fathers and councils have imposed their own imaginations and mistakes in the room of divine truths, cursing and persecuting all who dissented from them.

It is not necessary for churchmen to have a great subject in order to excite great emotion. A single *iota* was the subject of one controversy which agitated the church for some ages. The question was, whether the Son of God was *homousios* or *homoiousios*, of the same, or of a similar, substance, with the father? Another con-

test turned on the word *filioque*, whether the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father, or from the Father and the Son. This mysterious subject on which it is scarcely compatible with wisdom and piety to think, much less to dispute, was rudely canvassed in mixed assemblies, in which it was not to be expected that a becoming reverence could be preserved. It was also discussed in the correspondence of Charlemagne and Leo III., and it is remarkable, that the priest was for maintaining a more candid and generous strain of theology than the emperor; for while the latter contended that none could be saved without believing the doctrine of the *filioque*, the former alleged, that all were not capable of reaching the higher mysteries, and that their salvation was endangered only, when they were able, but not willing.

But the church has found heresy in other things besides questions of theological speculation. For instance, Adrian I. threatened to excommunicate the emperor of the east *as a heretic*, if he did not restore the Calabrian estates, which had been alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter. And pope Boniface, in the eighth century, condemned Virgilius as a heretic, because he believed there were antipodes.

It should not pass unnoticed, that the learned compiler of the Mishna, Rabbi Jehuda, discovered that heresy was the sin of Adam. And Mr. Charles Leslie, the celebrated non-juror, has given

this mysterious crime a still higher pedigree than the Jewish doctor; for he wrote and published “The history of sin and heresy, attempted from *the first war that they raised in heaven*, through their various successes and progress upon earth, to the final victory over them, and their eternal condemnation in hell, in some meditations upon the feast of St. Michael and all angels.”*

* See the Theological Works of the Rev. Charles Leslie, in 2 Vols. folio, London, 1721.

On this author, Dean Swift observes, “That could he make the nation see his adversaries under the colours he paints them in, we should have nothing else to do, but to rise as one man, and destroy such wretches from the face of the earth.”—Swift’s Works, Vol. VIII. p. 399.—Scott’s Ed.

This notable treatise by Mr. Leslie, on sin and heresy, is preceded by a Sermon against Marriages in different communions, in the preface to which, the writer raves like a mad man, about breaking the unity of the church, and tearing Christ’s body in pieces.

Mr. Leslie’s chief argument against marriages in different communions, is founded on his notion of the Peculium, the holy seed, which God has distinguished from the rest of the world, by particular and most glorious privileges and promises.

“They who are in earnest with their religion will, by this sensible motive, be brought to consider the more spiritual and eternal consequences of being within the true Peculium; and will not for small and indifferent things make a schism in the church.”—“It will beget a higher regard for religion, and it is to be hoped, when other arguments fail, that many may be persuaded to leave their schism, *when they cannot otherwise compass a rich match, or one whom they love.*” What but the fatuity of religious faction could lead a learned man, and an acute disputant, to make observations like these? Mr. Leslie’s

Doctor Johnson defines schism *a separation or division in the church of God*; and he supports his definition by a fine passage from king Charles:—"Set bounds to our passions by reason, to our errors by truth, and to our *schisms* by charity."

A schismatic, says our great lexicographer, is "One who separates from the true church;" and one of the examples quoted is from Swift:—"The schismatics united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government." Are we to understand then, that in the opinion of Doctor Johnson, the Scotch, in quitting the church of Rome, left the true church? It is probable that by *true church* the Doctor intended the church of England; but though the Stuarts had a predilection for episcopacy, as more favourable to the prerogatives of the crown than presbyterianism, yet the popular feeling was so strong against it, that it was never established in Scotland;* and therefore, the Scotch did not separate from the church of England. The illustrious name of Doctor Johnson therefore may be

two principal tracts against the Quakers, bear the following titles *The snake in the grass*, *Satan disrobed*. Leslie was an Irishman; but he left Ireland through devotion to the house of Stuart, and resided with the Pretender till near the time of his own death in 1722, endeavouring, but in vain, to make the royal fugitive a convert to protestantism.

* While Knox was languishing under the illness which terminated his life, an attempt was made to smuggle episcopacy into Scotland, but did not succeed. Before this, the *league and covenant* had been repeatedly ratified.

inserted in the list of schismatics, for he was a member of the church of England; and if the church of Scotland is guilty of schism in separating from the church of Rome, that of England is also guilty for the same reason.

The word *schism* occurs but once in the received version of the Bible. "God," says the apostle Paul to the Corinthians, "hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked, that there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one of another:" on which a judicious commentator observes, that, "by comparing schism in the church to schism in the body, we are taught that it consists in an unnatural want of affection in some of the members of Christ's body towards their fellow members, whereby contentions and animosities are produced. Farther, by showing that the members of the body are so united as to be necessary to each others' existence, the apostle hath taught us, that there should be no envy or strife among the disciples of Christ; but that each, by the right exercise of his proper gifts, should assist his neighbour, and rejoice when his welfare is promoted."*

"It is obvious," says another learned critic, "that the word *schism* is here employed to signify, not a separation from the body, such as is made by amputation or fracture, but such a de-

* M'Knight, on I. Cor. xii. xxv.

fect in utility and congruity, as would destroy what the apostle considers as the mutual sympathy of the members, and their care one of another.”*

There is a great diversity in the members of the human body, yet are they closely united by ligaments and nerves; their functions are different, yet each is necessary to the strength and comeliness of the whole; and the pleasure or pain experienced by one extends to all.

The antidote, which the apostle recommended for the schisms which distracted the church at Corinth, was not the pulley, the rack, or the faggot; it was not the exercise of power by some, and of patience by others; but it was the culture of that comprehensive, that divine virtue *charity*—that charity which, while it rejoiceth in the truth, thinketh no evil, and endureth all things. Mutual love is the distinctive badge of the christian profession. “By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.” And, if a member of a christian society departs from it, he is not therefore to be hated; for to *brotherly kindness*, is to be added *love to all mankind*. Love is the cement of christian societies, and the sovereign remedy for the diseases to which they are subject. It has seldom occurred to schism-hunters to look for the object of their pursuit in their own uncharitableness. When that judge makes inquisition for schism, to whose tri-

* Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations, Vol. II. 114.

bunal alone it appertains, it is to be feared that many a persecutor of schismatics will turn pale.

Heresy, to different minds, suggests very different ideas. From the language and temper with which some have spoken of heresy, we might suppose that it is an epitome of all evil, and that it ought to be punished as such by magistrates; in the judgment of others, heresy is in some cases innocent, in others, a venial fault, and if rendered ever so criminal by a perverse and obstinate opposition to the truth, still a crime which no man on earth has a right to punish, any farther than by avoiding the society of the heretic. If the last opinion is a just one, it ought to be universally known and always remembered.

—It may be of service to those whose passions are heated with a mistaken and intemperate zeal against heresy, to consider the import of the word as employed in the scriptures. It is to be lamented that zealous men should waste their time and strength in contending with shadows of wickedness, while the world is infested with so many substantial monsters.

The word *heresy* is often used to denote a class or party without being designed to convey any idea of right or wrong, goodness or badness, in the persons composing it. This is evidently the case where we read in Josephus and the Evangelists of the sect or heresy of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Herodians. The apostle Paul, too, has used the word in such a way as puts it

beyond doubt that he did not connect with it infamy, or what has been since called heretical pravity ; for he mentions it as a circumstance honourable to his character, that, in his youth, after the strictest sect, or heresy, of his religion, he lived a pharisee. It is not to be denied, however, that this word in the plural number occurs several times in the new Testament in a bad sense ; for instance, heresies are ranked among the works of the flesh, and it is foretold, that false teachers, denying the Lord that bought them, should bring in heresies of destruction.

The words *schism* and *heresy* when used in a bad sense, denote evils nearly allied to each other ; we have an apposite example in the eleventh chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians :—For, first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be divisions (*schisms*) among you ; and I partly believe it : for there must be also heresies among you. The following note on this passage contains sentiments too just and pertinent to be omitted.—“ It is plain that by *schisms* is not meant any separation from the church, but uncharitable divisions in it. For the Corinthians continued to be one church, and notwithstanding all their strife and contention, there was no separation of one part from the rest, with regard to external communion. And it is in the same sense that the word is used chap. first and tenth, and chap. twelfth and twenty-fifth, which are the only places in the new Testament beside this, where

church schisms are mentioned. Therefore, the indulging any temper contrary to this tender care of each other, is the true scriptural schism. This is therefore a quite different thing from that orderly separation from corrupt churches, which later ages have stigmatized as schism; and have made a pretence for the vilest cruelties, oppressions, and murders, that have troubled the christian world. Both *heresies* and *schisms* are here mentioned in very near the same sense: unless by *schisms* be meant rather those inward animosities which occasioned *heresies*, that is, outward divisions or parties: so that whilst one said, I am of Paul, another, I am of Apollos, this implied both schism and heresy. So wonderfully have later ages distorted the words *heresy* and *schism* from their scriptural meaning. Heresy is not, in all the Bible, taken for “an error in fundamentals,” or in any thing else; nor schism, for any separation made from the outward communion of others. Therefore, both *heresy* and *schism*, in the modern sense of the words, are sins that the scripture knows nothing of; but were invented merely to deprive mankind of the benefit of private judgment and liberty of conscience.”*

* Mr. J. Wesley's *Explanatory Notes*, on I. Cor. 11. xviii. Mr. Phelan of Dublin College, has given a citation from bishop Hall on the subject of schism, with expressions of approbation and applause. The persons addressed were Smith and Robinson, two noted schismatics of those times. (Some account of them may be seen in Iveney's *History of the English Baptists*,

To judge correctly of the guilt of schism and heresy we ought to make some enquiry as to the unity of the christian church, and as to the connection between unity in the faith, and uniformity in the profession, of the christian religion. The apostle Paul treats of the former in the fourth

Vol. I. 113.) "In justice to Hall," says Mr. Phelan, "I ought to transcribe the letter, but my limits will not permit, and I must be reluctantly content to insert the conclusion." "Sure you intended it not, but if you had been their hired agent, you could not have done our enemies greater service. The God of Heaven open your eyes that you may see the injustice of that zeal which hath transported you; and turn your hearts to an endeavour of all christian satisfaction. Otherwise your souls shall find too late, that it had been a thousand times better to have swallowed a ceremony, than to rend a church; yea that even whoredoms and murders shall abide an easier answer than separation." *The Bible, not the Bible Society* 126. We have here three sentences from an illustrious prelate of the church of England; the first contains an assertion; the second, a prayer; the third, a prediction. The prayer resembles an indictment, the assertion may be disputed, and the prophesy is extremely exceptionable. It does not seem to have occurred to the bishop while praying for Smith and Robinson, that possibly they might be right and he wrong. The spirit of infallibility is not the spirit of prayer. Did bishop Hall intend to censure Luther and Calvin for not swallowing ceremonies rather than rend the church; or as being in league with hell because they became separatists? If schism be more heinous than murder, how ought schismatics to be treated? How did bishop Hall attain a knowledge of the way in which Smith and Robinson will be treated at the last judgment? We ought not to form our opinions of that judgment by the laws of spiritual courts, nor fondly ascribe to the Most High, the sentiments or passions which may chance to agitate our own breasts.

chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians, whom he beseeches to walk worthy of their vocation, with all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another in love ; endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. To avoid discord, and cultivate the meek and peaceful virtues, which lead to amity and union, was rendered imperative on the Ephesians by the consideration that, There is one body, and one spirit,—one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God and father of all.

The unity of the church is a subject of great consequence both as it makes an article of that faith for which we ought earnestly to contend, and as it is connected with several topics of speculation and practice interwoven with the commerce of life, on which it is desirable to have correct views. It shall therefore be our aim to ascertain what are the elements of that unity in which the oneness of the christian church consists. Inasmuch as the laws of christianity have been in ages past, and still are, in some countries, flagrantly violated by the measures resorted to, in order to establish and maintain unity, there is a strong *prima facie* presumption, that those measures originated in mistaken opinions or selfish and ambitious passions.

Some, probably, will be disposed to ask, what church do you intend when you speak of the unity of the church ? Is it the Greek church, the Roman church, the church of England, the church of

Geneva, or some one of those more simple societies which have seceded from them? We shall do well to take heed that we do not attach too much importance to that particular denomination, whatever be its pretensions, to which we have joined ourselves. In the mean time, we may rest satisfied, that the church, of whose union and glory the new Testament speaks, is one to the formation of which human power and policy have contributed nothing. Rom. 12. v. I. Cor. 12. xii. Eph. 2. xvi. This sentiment, indisputably supported by the passages adverted to, may serve to allay any ferment excited by the connection of churches and states.

To know what the sacred writers intend when they use the word church, we should collate a few of those passages of scripture in which the word occurs. The Greek word, which in our version is generally translated church, is *ecclesia*. In Acts 19. xxxii. xxxix. it signifies an assembly without containing any reference to the quality of the persons composing it; I. Cor. 1. ii. it signifies the congregation of believers united together in religious communion at Corinth; in Rom. 16. v. it signifies the faithful of some one family, with such of their believing neighbours, as were in the habit of associating with them; in Acts 7. xxxviii. it denotes the whole company of the Israelites in the wilderness, and in Eph. 5. xxv. it comprises all believers of every age and nation. Of these five acceptations of the word in

question, unity can be ascribed to two only. The family of Abraham were as much one church as they were one nation; for church and state were but two names for one thing. The catholic church, consisting of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and of all such as fear God and work righteousness, out of every nation under heaven, is essentially one. Of this grand aggregate of the wise and the virtuous of all ages, and climes, and countries, the apostle affirms, that it is one body. The catholic church has one head, and only one; if therefore it had more than one body, its constitution would be monstrous. "One is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." "But speaking the truth in love may grow up into him in all things, which is the head even Christ."*

* Eph. 4. xv. The original is beautifully concise and expressive, *Aletheuontes de en agape, &c.* The sense of this passage I take to be *That the doctrines and ethics of the gospel held and exhibited in a spirit of brotherly love to believers, and of benevolence to all mankind, are the means of growth, establishment, and sanctification to christians.* Christ then is the head of the christian fellowship. This is a truth so plain as to require no proof; but it is so important as to demand frequent and serious meditation. There have been hosts of pretenders to this high prerogative, who have acted without any adequate authority. These aspirants have not presumed to divest the son of God of his high dignity; but they would have us believe that they are commissioned to act as his representatives and vicegerents. It is therefore of importance to observe, that Christ is the head of the church, in such a sense, as to preclude every other. What else can be the meaning of those words, "Call no man your

In that remarkable prayer recorded in the 17th of John, our Lord prays, not only for such as did then believe on him, but also for all who should at any after time believe on him, That they all may be one. This prayer was in part

pope or father on earth; for one is your father which is in heaven." Neither be ye called masters; for one is your master even Christ. (Mat. 23. ix). Any departure from this order, established by divine legislation, tends to a violation of catholic unity. The first and greatest principle of unity, by which the members of the church of all ages and nations are held together, is the acknowledgement of the sole and exclusive authority of Christ. There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism. When princes and bishops set themselves up, or cause themselves to be set up, as heads of churches, defenders of the faith, and representatives of Christ, they secularize christianity, and open the flood-gates of schism and anarchy. They also pretend to that to which they are not called, and to which, if they were called, they are not competent. The highest angel in heaven is not capable of sustaining the offices and discharging the functions of the head of the church. The powers and prerogatives belonging to the head of the church are such as cannot be delegated even to the most exalted creature. Some of these are *to be present wherever two or three are met in his name—to be with them always even to the end of the world.* There are many other offices, connected with the supremacy of Christ, to which even the most worthy and most glorious of intelligent creatures are alike inadequate.

But it may be said, that there are other objects to be accomplished by the formation of churches, which lie within the compass of human power and policy. Undoubtedly there are. Secular wisdom soon found out the secret, that christianity might be rendered subservient to purposes very different from those originally anticipated. But in accomplishing secular purposes, and truckling to the low designs of earthly ambition, the gos-

fulfilled on the day of Pentecost when the disciples assembled with one accord in one place. (Acts 2. i.) Here was a harmony of sentiments, dispositions and hopes, the thought of which is grateful. Behold how good and how pleasant it is,

pel loses its spiritual character. Hence it has come to pass, that persons may profess the christian religion, and so profess it, as to enjoy in an abundant measure the honours and emoluments attached to it, by the policy and bounty of states, and at the same time, be as little influenced by its doctrines and precepts as the worshippers of Brahma. Men may be expert and successful as husbandmen, artificers, and soldiers, without professing any religion, much less the christian; and the rewards promised by Christ to the faithful are promised to very different qualities from those which lead to worldly aggrandisement. I contend, therefore, explicitly and boldly, that when the christian religion is made an integral part, or an ally of a kingdom or empire, or any way connected with the riches, policy, and splendor of courts, it is forced out of its proper sphere, and rendered inefficient as to the high and noble objects of the divine dispensation. It is not difficult to understand how or why this is, and must be, the case. Religion is a matter of conscience; and conscience knows no tribunal but God's. Human laws and ordinances may be addressed to our hopes and our fears, to our reason and our justice; but it is the voice of God only can reach the conscience. The restraints of conscience therefore hold in matters to which human legislation cannot extend, and will continue to hold, even if all the thrones and dominions of the world were annihilated. "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," is the natural aspiration of conscience, to the invisible ruler of the world. But if a revelation from heaven be adopted, and promulgated by some terrestrial tribunal, and attention and obedience be exacted under pain of some temporary inconvenience, conscience has nothing to say to it. Conscience knows the voice of the good shepherd, but followeth

for brethren to dwell together in unity. The unity which appeared in this assembly of primitive christians was not the sullen acquiescence of ignorance and apathy ; it was not an uniformity generated by the abuse of power on one side, and the practice of hypocrisy on the other ; but was the cheerful concurrence of men whose thoughts and wishes were alike. It is probable that an unanimity very similar to this has often been felt in worshipping assemblies. But the consentaneous aspirations of particular assemblies show but little of the oneness of true christians, in comparison with that similarity of religious feeling and conduct, which is found in the experience and lives of good people of different ages and various

not strangers. No sanctions are felt by conscience, but those which originate with a being exalted above all competition or implication of interests with men. Let it not be supposed, then, that the method of promoting christian edification specified in the above passage, is one peculiarly adapted to the apostolical age. "Speaking the truth in love," is a catholic and permanent ordinance of the universal church, and is equally suited to all ages and countries. And he, who neglecting this simple and efficacious means, expects that the great object of sanctification and conformity to the will of Christ, should be answered by discipline of a lower character, is looking for grapes on thorns, and figs on thistles.

Every one to whom this doctrine appears just, will acknowledge that it is important. It is the basis of all that discipline which is instituted and exemplified in the pages of the new Testament. In the light of this great principle, we may see the rationality of those institutions and exercises, enjoined upon believers, as conducive to the ends of the evangelical dispensation.

denominations. As to the tendencies and antipathies, the desires and expectations, of the wise and the upright of all persuasions, we may adopt the language of David, *He fashioneth their hearts alike.*

Take a few individuals out of several christian societies, and observe the way in which they feel and express the obligations of religion, and you will see traces of a family likeness. How should it be otherwise? They alike receive and revere the leading truths of the christian religion as taught in the scriptures; the grand articles of evangelical verity form the basis of their hopes, and the incentives of their piety; the terrors and glories of the Eternal, inspire awe and hope; and the immortal life which the gospel has brought nigh, encircled with light, is the ultimatum of their wishes. To each, the path of life is beset with much the same dangers; in the breast of each, there is the same warfare between the repugnant principles of wisdom and folly, faith and unbelief, self-denial and self-indulgence; and when they give utterance to their hearts, they speak much the same language. As the object of their religion is not to serve their trade, their party, or their politics, they pray, not only in public, but in private, and their father, who seeth in secret, sheds the kindly influences of his paternal love into their hearts. As they acknowledge one father, hold the prime articles of one faith, and are subject to the plastic energies of one spirit, what should hinder their being one body?

The scriptures foretel that the elect shall be gathered together from the four winds of heaven ; and that Christ will present the church unto himself a glorious church. It is not foreign to our purpose to ask, what anticipation ought we to entertain of that august assembly in which the Redeemer of mankind will come to be glorified ?

If all who have preserved the apostolical succession, (whatever that be) and none but such, are members of the catholic church, what a spectacle ? What a jumble of saints and sinners ? What a comment on the equity and wisdom of the divine dispensations. Bishop Bonner, that bloody wretch, is crowned with an unfading wreath of glory, while William Penn is doomed to everlasting shame and contempt ? How then, will that be a day of equal retribution, or how can it be said that men will receive according to the deeds done in the body ?

And yet we have volume after volume written to prove that schism is a damnable sin, and that those who are not in communion with that episcopal church, which has preserved a pure and uninterrupted succession of pastors from the apostles, are on the high way to perdition. Is it true, then, that no one can get into the kingdom of heaven, unless he enters by the wide gate of some episcopal establishment ? We may be consoled, however, that there is no occasion to *press* to get in ; that the road which was once straight is now become broad ; and that as we

pass to take possession of the glories of the world to come, we are entitled to monopolize the honours of the present.

If a sober-minded schismatic were asked what company he expects in the world of rest? It is probable, that after particularizing the patriarchs and prophets of the legal, and the apostles and martyrs of the evangelical, dispensation, he would dwell with special pleasure on the thought, that he should there meet the enlightened and the upright of all denominations; and to him it would appear by no means repulsive or incongruous that conscientious conformists, and non-conformists, should unite in everlasting concord and amity. According to this view of things, the blessings of redemption are not the chartered rights of any of our spiritual corporations; but the free gifts of the father of mercies to a perishing world.

I doubt if there ever was a sentiment broached which has led to more extensive and deep-rooted delusion, than that of a visible and universal church, having salvation annexed, exclusively, to the functions of its ministers, and restricted to the members of its community. This notion is replete with monstrous absurdity, and has been the parent of numerous absurdities, both in speculation and practice. It goes in fact, to confound the distinctions of right and wrong, and to ascribe to the divine government the narrow and selfish views of an earthly corporation. The

revolting selfishness and injustice of limiting the favour of God to the members of a certain community, although a considerable number of them should, through the luxuriance of their vices, be the disgrace and pest of human society, are so apparent, that some of the advocates of it, have contended that all infants, together with all virtuous adults, who have rejected the claims of their universal church through invincible ignorance, are in fact members of it. An admission of this nature and extent, is little short of a renunciation of the opinion that there is no salvation out of a particular church ; for I suppose that in the judgment of the persons adverted to, the brightest evidence of truth will be invincible ignorance, when it leads a person to spurn the audacious pretensions of an ecclesiastical corporation.

In the long period which has intervened between the apostolical age and the present, there have been dark and dreary times, in which the human understanding has been wretchedly obscured and perverted. The dictates of common sense were smothered under a mass of legendary and traditional impostures. Ignorant and bewildered men believed that tyrannical governments were of God, and that the lewdest and most artful debauchees were his ministers. Fallen as we are, the mind must be drilled into tame irrationality, before it can brook such affronts.

That perversion of christianity to which we

now advert, has had a most pernicious effect, two ways, first, as it has rendered the christian religion impotent as to those moral advantages which it would otherwise produce ; and secondly, as it has made it powerfully instrumental in abridging the liberties, purloining the substance, and enslaving the minds of men.

There is scarcely any subject to which the mind can turn with more profit, than to the fate of christianity amongst mankind ; but it requires calm and patient attention, together with that freedom and boldness of enquiry, which preserve the mind from being cowed by sanctimonious artifices. And of all the points on which we ought to be upon our guard against deception, *the church* is the principal. Delusion on this head has been the source of ease, wealth, and power, to thousands. It is not strange, therefore, that ingenuity should be employed without ceasing to establish such profitable traffic. It is not to be expected, that men will apply themselves to useful arts and laborious exertions, when they can secure affluence and veneration, by a few solemn tricks.

But if in times of ignorance and servility, men were hood-winked and made the dupes of impostors and tyrants, they ought now to open their eyes, and look about them.

It is self-evident, that the universal church on earth, is composed of such as will compose the church in heaven. We shall not be judged in

masses according to our nation or country, not yet as religious communities, but as individuals; and as there is no distinction so conspicuous in the eyes of the Judge of all the earth, even at the present time, as that between the righteous and the wicked, so it is a distinction which will survive all others. When all which makes a difference between the most gorgeous prince and the most squalid beggar has disappeared, "then, shall ye return, and discern, between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God, and him that serveth him not." Mal. 3. xviii.

An elegant and impressive representation of that aggregate of the just which constitutes the true church is given in the epistle to the Hebrews, where it is called *the general assembly and church of the first born*. (*Panegyrei kai ecclesia*). The first of these words denotes a vast concourse of people drawn together from all quarters on some public and joyful occasion. *First born* denotes the *best*; the best of every particular church will compose the universal church, unless there should be any church so thoroughly bad as not to contain any good. *Which are written in heaven*. The citizens of the Jerusalem above are not enrolled in the registers of any particular society on earth, however ancient and extensive it may be, but their record is on high, where it cannot be injured by time, or corroded by moths.

It was a common prejudice among the degenerate Jews, that the favour of God was exclu-

sively theirs. Thus, the peculiar privileges of their nation became a snare to their pride and vanity. This fatal mistake led to some of the worst parts of their bad conduct. And it is to be regretted, that in the room of serving as a beacon to warn from pleasing delusion, they have been rather followed as a pattern for imitation. The axe was laid to the root of Jewish superstition when the baptist raised his warning voice on the banks of the Jordan, and called upon his countrymen *not to say within themselves, We have Abraham to our father, but to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.*

A ritual service, though of divine appointment, cannot be acceptable without purity in the heart, and rectitude in the life; nor can any opinion be better adapted to subvert morals, than that favourite notion of some high churchmen, that the favour of God is conveyed by the *mere performance, the opus operatum*, of sacraments, in like manner as an estate is transmitted by the forms of law.

This grand association, the general assembly and church of the first born, is not like the kingdoms of the earth, which rise, fall, and become extinct, but it continueth from age to age, and is perpetually receiving accessions to its greatness and glory. It is an illustrious edifice, constructed, not on the slippery base of human inventions and secular policy, but on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ

himself, being the chief corner stone, in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord.

There have been some periods in the time which has elapsed since the first promulgation of the gospel, wherein, if contemplated through the medium of history, it would seem as though christian piety had wholly failed. But we should remember that the persons who make the most conspicuous figure on the theatre of the world, are not those in whom we should look for much of the illumination and spirit of religion. The hopes and fears of religion take the deepest hold of those who spend their days in peace, amidst the tranquil labours of domestic and social life. The noblest and most pure exercises of devotion are invisible to the eyes of mortals, and are performed in that inward sanctuary, in which the Deity is worshipped in spirit and in truth. At times when a few blustering sinners have agitated the world, and blackened the moral hemisphere with their crimes, there have been numbers, unknown to fame, who have held on the silent and peaceful tenor of their way, in the paths of wisdom and rectitude, and have benefitted mankind by their unostentatious worth.

The prophet Elijah made intercession to God against Israel, saying, They have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars, and I alone am left, and they seek my life. But in this calamitous time, when idolatry was estab-

lished in the high places, and it was dangerous to be found in the path of duty, there were reserved seven thousand men in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal. Where were these, that the prophet was ignorant of them? They were, probably, on mountains and in vallies, and in sequestered villages, seeking an asylum from the busy eyes of inquisitors in the obscurity of their situation, like the Albigenses and Waldenses in after ages.

“The Lord knoweth them that are his.”

To know this, so as to preclude all uncertainty and doubt, is peculiar to God. To him all things are naked and open. But man is deceived by the mere semblances of things; he judgeth, and must judge, according to the outward appearance. There is an interior region of nature to which his eye cannot penetrate, where the passions revolve and fluctuate in unknown agitations, and where the heart, secure in its secrecy, wraps up its counsels in impenetrable concealment.

In this *terra incognita* of the human bosom, are harboured evil thoughts and deadly designs, which shun the light. Conspiracies and plots, murders and adulteries, lurk here and defy all scrutiny and inquisition. Here too is cherished many a holy feeling and generous design, of which the world will always be ignorant. The retributions of religion, therefore, are not to be distributed till that day comes, when the secrets of the heart shall be laid open, and every man

shall appear just as he is. If man knows not who are the Lord's, it belongs not to him to recompence them for being such, or to punish them for not being such. This is a work reserved for that day in which God shall make up his jewels. In the present world, there is such a mixture of persons of different qualities, that it is not possible to separate them, and in some cases, not possible to distinguish them. Thus, in the parable of the tares and the wheat, the servants of the householder wanted permission to go and gather the tares; but they were prohibited, *lest in gathering the tares, they should root up the wheat also*. Both were to grow together until the harvest; and in the explanation of the parable, we are told, that *the harvest is the end of the world*.

In times past, laws were enacted to aid, with bloody sanctions, the cause of uniformity; and at the shrine of this idol, thousands were immolated. But the human heart, abhorrent of oppression, directed its energies against the enemies of freedom, and the world was convulsed for ages by the struggles of usurpation and liberty. The light of science and freedom has beamed upon the globe, and the spectres of ignorance and superstition are now retreating from the scene. But though many absurd and untenable figments have been abandoned, apostolical succession is still gravely maintained. Christ promised to be with his servants always even to the end of the world; but he never promised a succession of apostles.

or a series of successors to the apostles. After the lapse and death of Judas, the apostles at the instance of Peter elected Matthias, to fill up the place of the perfidious apostate. It seems that in this act, they were guided by their own sense of the fitness of things, and not by the impulse of the Holy Spirit; for Christ afterwards interposed and called Saul of Tarsus to the apostleship; and we must admit, either that the election of Matthias was set aside, or otherwise, that there were thirteen apostles. As it was part of the duty of an apostle to bear witness of the resurrection of Christ, to have seen him after his resurrection was an indispensable pre-requisite to the office. Each apostle was endowed with the power of working miracles; so that as Christ was sent by the father, so were the apostles sent by him, and were empowered to produce the credentials of their embassy, in the works which they wrought.*

* Doctor M'Knight, a profound scholar, who was indefatigable in his researches into the sense of the sacred writings, has expressed himself somewhat to this effect.

“One of the apostles, *Judas* by name, having fallen from his office by transgression, the eleven judged it necessary to supply his place; and for that purpose chose Matthias by lot. In this however, they acted, not by the direction of the Holy Ghost, for he was not yet given to them, but merely by the dictates of human prudence, which, on that occasion, seems to have carried them too far. No man, or body of men whatever, could by their designation, confer an office, whose authority bound the consciences of all men, and whose duties could not be performed without the gifts of inspiration and miracles. To a

The successors of the apostles, therefore, ought not only to be free from vulgar vices, and to be adorned with common virtues, but to shine forth in all the splendour of miraculous powers. And it is notorious, that some still endeavour to support their pretensions to apostolical succession, by the bold, but suspicious, plea of miracles.* Are we then to believe that by the imposition of the hands of a bishop, a sacred character is imparted, a character which it is not in the power of sin to efface, and in virtue of which, the religious services of the person who sustains it, are accompanied by a saving efficacy?

What strange successors the apostles have had, if every man who has been episcopally ordained, was thereby rendered one of them? To those, whose religion inspires them with a feeling of reverence and love to the invisible author of the christian faith, it must appear impious to say, that any power in the world can render a wicked man a successor of the apostles, and a representative of Christ.

There are but few topics on which more has been spoken and written than on unity in religion. Men differing most widely from each other, have

dain an apostle belonged to Christ alone, who, with the appointment, could also give the supernatural powers necessary to the function.—*Preliminary Essays to a new literal Translation of the Apost. Epistles.*

* See Doctor Milner's *End of Religious Controversy*, part 2d. letter XXIII. on divine attestation of sanctity.

been unanimous in contending for agreement. The rage against schism has not been confined to the walls of convents and colleges ; it has furnished employment to princes in their cabinets, and to legislative assemblies, and has thence proceeded to desolate the earth with all the outrages of savage warfare.

The best argument in favour of uniformity in religion is, that contradictory opinions on the same subject cannot be true ;—that truth is important, and that, therefore, the uniformity which consists in adhering to the truth is desirable. We hear complaints of a latitudinarian spirit, as one of the portentous evils of the present day. If the grievance complained of be real, it is one that cannot be redressed by persecution. If men are so averse to religion, as not to be enamoured with her charms, when she is presented to them in robes of benignity and love, how must they be affected towards her in the garb and with the attributes of Alecto ! But latitudinarianism and religious liberty ought not to be considered as natural allies : a man may have the most unwavering confidence in the verity of the several articles of his religious creed, and may imagine that salvation is impossible without the belief of those which are peculiar to it, and yet be as decided an adherent to religious liberty, as he is to his own sentiments. The man I have supposed, is the very reverse of a latitudinarian and a sceptic ; still he conceives that religion admits of no service but what is voluntary,

and that the truths of revelation cannot benefit any, but as they are understood and believed ; and that therefore nothing is more pregnant with absurdity and mischief than enforcing them by the repulsive and disgusting arguments of terror and violence. Therefore, though he would fain reason with the energy of Paul, and persuade with the eloquence of Apollos, he is abhorrent from bribing men to adopt what they do not understand, or coercing them to profess what they do not believe.

The unity contended for by the major part of the authors who have written against schism and heresy does not center in the truth, but in the church : of course it is one thing in England, and another in France. The unity of the faith is not by them recognized in the concurrence of the enlightened and the upright of all denominations, in some grand principles of christian verity and morals ; but in receiving the creed, and conforming to the ceremonies, of some particular church. Our Lord prayed that his disciples might be one ; if the oneness for which he prayed be the opposite of that schism against which high churchmen, of all communities, inveigh, it would appear *that our Lord's prayer has not been granted, and that his mediation has failed of one of its ends.* But it is more reasonable to suppose that the intercession of our Lord for the unity of his disciples has been answered, and that, too, in ages and countries that have teemed most with dissenters, or, if you

please, schismatics. It is enough to create strong suspicion that the unity, for which high churchmen plead, is very different from that for which Christ prayed, inasmuch as the former has generally been productive of bad fruits. The most tranquil periods of ecclesiastical history are the darkest and the foulest. The peace of God, and the peace of churches are at variance : the former keeps the heart and the mind from evil, while the latter gives a fair opportunity for indolence and immorality. The calm of the dark ages was the stillness of slumber and corruption ; or the ominous serenity of nature while preparing the elements for storms and earthquakes.*

* “ The outward peace of the church,” says Lord Bacon, “ distilleth into peace of conscience, and it turneth the labours of writing and reading controversies into treatises of mortification and devotion.”—*Essay on Unity in Religion*.

Peace of conscience, if delusive, is bad enough. But the peace of the church has often distilled in greater evils than the writing and reading of books of controversy ; in the ignorance and profligacy of the laity, and in the pride and tyranny of the clergy. The twelfth century was a tolerably pacific period, yet of this century, Mosheim observes, “ That wherever we turn our eyes among the various ranks and orders of the clergy, we perceive the most flagrant marks of ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whose pernicious effects were deeply felt both in church and state. If we except a very small number, who retained a sense of the sanctity of their vocation, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts, to multiply their privileges by grasping perpetually at new honors and distinctions, to encrease their opu-

We shall shew that uniformity in religion is not practicable, and that if it were practicable it is not desirable. When we say that it is not desirable, we do not mean to deny that it may be desired for political reasons ; what we mean to affirm is, that as uniformity is not required by true religion, so neither is it by sound policy. True religion consists in a compliance with the revealed will of God ; and God has not seen fit to give us a revelation of his will so ample and explicit as to preclude a diversity of opinion. Moreover, if the Bible were much more adapted to produce uniformity than it is, there are so many varieties in the intellectual endowments of men, and in the circumstances of education and condition which affect, more or less, their religious sentiments, that

lence, to diminish the authority, and to encroach on the privileges of princes and magistrates, and neglecting entirely the interests of religion and the cure of souls, to live in ease and pleasure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence.”—*Eccles. Hist.* Vol. III. 41.

The canons of the church obliged the clergy to celibacy ; but in this particular, they were better disposed to follow the more ancient canons of nature. This circumstance caused the bishop of Sylva, in Portugal, in the ninth century, to lament that the clergy should vow chastity, when their children were almost as numerous as those of the laity.—*Ibid.* Vol. II. 353.

“Of this I am certain,” says Arthur O’Leary, “that all over Europe, the children of those who have taken orders in the Roman church, (next to hangmen and priest-catchers) make the most forbidding appearance.”—*Tracts*, Vol. II. 7. It would be curious to trace this phenomenon of deformity in the features of the Portuguese.

we might still despair of uniformity. It is said of the emperor Charles V., who after he retired from the toils of government and persecution, amused himself with mechanics, that having found by repeated trials, that he could not bring any two clocks or watches to go exactly alike, reflected with surprise and regret on his own folly in having laboured so long to bring men to a precise agreement in the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion.

The discoveries imparted and the duties enforced by divine revelation may be considered in a twofold point of light, first, as they affect the present, and secondly, as they affect an after state of existence. Of the former, we may speak with boldness as coming under the cognizance of our senses, and as being within the comprehension of our reason: of the latter we must speak with diffidence, except as we are guided by the unequivocal decisions of scripture. None, however, will contend for a religion, or rather an irreligion, which violates the laws of God and of human society, on the ground of its preparing for heaven. For, however discordant some of our notions may be respecting a future world, and the way in which we should prepare for its momentous scenes, we are all agreed that the path of impiety and vice is not the way to honour and happiness. As to the manner and degree in which the eternal beatitude of the righteous will be the result of their works of piety and benevolence in

this life, theologians have long disputed, but who ever imagined, that without holiness, any man shall see God? Every profession of christian faith and hope, which is not accompanied with sanctity, is absurd and delusive. Let us see, then, how this comprehensive excellence which comprises the health, strength, and beauty of religion, is affected by uniformity.

It is notorious to every one who reads ecclesiastical history with attention, that established churches have become ignorant, indolent, and corrupt, in proportion as dissenters have been few and feeble. This ought not to be spoken as the peculiar reproach of any particular denomination of christians, for it is common to all. The truths and precepts of religion have to maintain a constant warfare with the errors and perverse inclinations of our nature. He who aspires to the approbation of that Judge, whose piercing eye penetrates the deep and dark recesses of the heart, must do what is right *from right motives*; but can we venture to say that this noble aspiration is the main spring of all the actions that are accounted virtuous, and that are really beneficial to mankind? Who is there that has not done what is just and praise-worthy on considerations which would put him to the blush if he imagined that his neighbours knew them? Inasmuch as the benefits which the poor derive from the donations of the rich do not depend on motives, it is desirable that they who cannot do good from good mo-

tives, should do it from such motives as they can. The same remark may be made on acts of a more spiritual nature; for instance, it is better that we should perform our devotions from motives not altogether right than that we should neglect them. By repeating an action, we acquire a habit; and when the principle of piety does not exist, or is very weak, the mere form of it may prevent some of the evil consequences of that defect. Satan insinuated that Job served God from mercenary motives; and it is probable that he was emboldened to do so, by knowing how common it is for men, even when they do what is right, to be influenced by what is wrong.—Who is there that has not witnessed the power of emulation? A generous rivalry, unaccompanied by envy and every other malignant passion, is of incalculable advantage in every thing in which excellence is desirable. It is very seldom that any branch of trade is conducted as it ought to be, where there is no competition. It is not surprising that the ministers of any particular church should desire to make a monopoly of the cure of souls. Some seriously believe that the right of administering religious instruction, discipline, and comfort, belongs exclusively to their church; and even when no such belief is entertained, the desire of monopoly may be easily accounted for and excused. But as the progress of any nation in trade, in arts, and in sciences, would be greatly impeded by allowing none to learn, to teach, and

to transact business, except the members of some learned and mercantile associations; so likewise may the advancement of religion and morals be obstructed in the same way.

In ages wherein the power of the church has been most ample, and in which the most implicit faith has been placed in her acts and decrees, the chief articles of belief she has insisted on, have been her own mysterious attributes, and the recondite virtue of the reliques and sacraments she dispenses. As the people have declined in knowledge, they have become capable of the most enormous credulity. And as uniformity has often proceeded from bad causes, so it has been productive of pernicious effects. It has been fatal to science, to freedom, and to good morals.

Absurd fictions and impious practices may be expected to multiply, when the sword is ever drawn to defend them. There were men in days of flagitious conformity, who would have raised their voice against the innovations, which disfigured and debased the gospel; but to do so, would have been to reason with instruments of death. The degradation of national churches has been completed, not so much by their being wicked, as by their deliberately planning to extend and perpetuate their wickedness, and cut off or put down reformers.

There never yet has been an example of a church which had the power of scattering and silencing its enemies, but has become a moral

nuisance. High sounding pretensions may be made to inscrutable attributes; but it shall be found that wealth and idleness will diffuse a deadly taint, in defiance of the mysterious charm. Clerical politicians will do well to fortify their sacred governments against the assaults of earth-born depravity, before they presume to clothe them with celestial perfections. If churches are nurseries for heaven, they ought to be adapted to the growth of trees of righteousness, and not to the rank vegetation of every foul and deleterious weed.

The church of England was never in a worse condition, than when the prisons were crowded with the victims of uniformity. Her ministers had no occasion to emulate the zeal and assiduity of schismatics, they could incarcerate them. English episcopacy was returning, with hasty strides, to the bad practices of the dark ages, but was stopped in the road to ruin, by the wisdom and firmness of the government, which curtailed the power of persecution, and obliged the partizans of the church to try the efficacy of learning and good conduct.

To promote and establish uniformity, all means have been tried, not excepting the worst, and long tried, and tried under every diversity of circumstance, and with all the aids of subtlety and address. The experiment has failed, and wholly failed, and that, not through want of ability or resolution, or perseverance, in its friends;

but because it was foolish, and because it had to contend with nature and providence.

And who has reason to mourn at its failure? Does not every day's experience prove that men whose religious sentiments and taste, (if I may use such a word), are widely different, can be good magistrates, good subjects, and good citizens, and can emulate each other with generous alacrity, in answering the demands of justice and beneficence?

To wish that the several religious communities which subsist in these realms, should throw down their enclosures and run into one great body, does not seem to me to be either wise or benevolent. Popular religions have hitherto made such a free use of imposture and absurdity, that we can scarcely avoid feeling suspicion or prejudice against that which shall, at any time, become pleasing to the many. *The mixture of a lie, says Lord Bacon, doth ever add pleasure;* and so it ever will, while the intellectual appetite is vitiated.

If, as a nation, we are disposed for good works, there is nothing in the discrepancy of our creeds, or the variety of our liturgies, to hinder our coalescing sufficiently.

Universal agreement lulls the mind into stupefaction, it leaves no place for the play of those motives of a secondary order which perhaps are of more extensive and permanent influence than higher and purer ones; it therefore at once diminishes the restraints from evil and the incentives to good.

The toleration of schismatics and heretics under the British Government is a grievous eye-sore to some narrow souls. Hence they delight to expatiate on the multitude of sects which swarm among us, *as countless as the sands on the sea-shore*. Children mistake harmless objects for ghosts and hobgoblins. Let us lay aside our fears for a moment, and enquire, if there is any thing very wonderful and unexampled in the number and variety of schisms and heresies that flourish among us.

Bellarmino confesses twenty-six schisms in that church of which he was a zealous advocate; and Onuphrius reckons thirty, one of which raged with implacable animosity for fifty years.*

* This is known amongst historians as the *great western schism*. It began in the year 1378, and continued till the year 1428. The circumstances were these. On the death of Gregory XI., the cardinals elected Bartholomew de Pregnano, who assumed the name of Urban VI. This pontiff was so rude, severe, and arrogant, that he soon made himself many enemies even in the conclave. The consequence was, that the disaffected party retired from Rome to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, where they raised to the pontificate, Robert, count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. Urban remained at Rome, and Clement went to Avignon, and to this day, it is not known which was the true pope. It is probable that they were equally legitimate, and their ministrations alike valid. Europe, however, was divided and infuriated by the quarrel; and on the decease of the rival pontiffs, the contending factions elected others to succeed them, and the schism was perpetuated.

“The distress and calamity of those times,” says Mosheim,

At the end of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History (Maclaine's Translation) are Chronological Tables, which appear to have been made out with much care and attention. In these Tables, the columns devoted to heretics are as much crowded in the earliest ages as in any subsequent. There cannot be a more unlearned prejudice, than that heresy is the special reproach of the times in which we live; and if all the opinions held now, on religious subjects, by different parties, were collated and compared with those of any former age, would not the result be honourable to the sound understanding of the present generation?*

"are beyond all power of description: for, not to insist upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy arose to a most scandalous excess. The clergy, while they vehemently contended, which of the reigning popes was the true successor of Christ, were so excessively corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency."—*Eccles. Hist. Cent. 14. Vol. III. 322.*

Long before the eruption of the *great schism*, the Guelphs and Ghibellines had drawn daggers against each other. The former of these factions espoused the cause of the emperor, and the latter that of the popes; and Italy and Germany were distracted for three centuries by their dissensions and wars.—See *Machiavel's Origin of the words Guelph and Ghibelline*, and *Robertson's View of the State of Europe, prefixed to the History of Charles V.* 150.

* In the first century there are counted ten heretics, or heresiarchs, that is founders of sects, or leaders of heresy; in the second *thirty*, a greater number than is to be found in any succeeding century. Many of these heresies were caused by the

I have seen it mentioned as a most surprising wonder, that the chair of St. Peter has been free from heresy even when filled by the most execrable pontiffs. To me it would appear a much greater miracle, if abandoned popes had not been orthodox, that is, if they had not avowed those opinions, (whether they believed them or not), by means of which, they held their dignity and riches. Is a man's wickedness any hindrance to his swearing that black is white, if he is to be paid ten thousand a year for doing it? The orthodoxy of such pontiffs as Alexander VI. and Leo X. is so far from being unaccountable, that nothing admits of a more easy solution.

agitation attendant on the promulgation of new opinions, by imbecility of mind, and incontinence of tongue. The most effectual cure for them would have been *to let them alone*; and in fact, a great number of them died a natural death, except those adopted by the church, which, of course, were purified from the venom of heretical pravity and renovated into innocence.

There are scarcely any of the early fathers of the church, who were not, in some part of their lives, implicated in heresy. This was notoriously the case with Tertullian, Origin (the Aristotle of the church) and Augustine himself. It was often determined by mere incidents, as uncertain as any game of chance, who should be pronounced a heretic, and who not. Athanasius was condemned by six councils as a heretic. Of these the one held at Milan consisted of 300 bishops, and the one at Arminum of 550. This consent of such a prodigious number of the clergy against the champion of Nice, gave rise to that saying, *Athanasius against all the world, and all the world against Athanasius.*

It is an easy matter, where there are revenues and dignities to be disposed of, to find men of pliant consciences who will give a ready assent to schedules of faith; but to cause a thousand persons, who think with honesty and freedom, to think alike, is a more difficult task. But if the successors of St. Peter did not find it expedient to turn aside into the lively paths of heresy (some exceptions to which however have been noticed) they plunged into the depths of schism. The following schisms took place between those dignified officers of the church, whose principal concern it is to preserve unity. In the fourth century there were two, in the fifth two, in the sixth two, in the seventh one, in the eighth two, in the ninth three, in the tenth five, in the eleventh five, in the fourteenth three, in the fifteenth one.

In some of these schisms, there were more competitors than two, striving by factious arts for the chair of unity; and if any persons are serious in the belief that the virtue of christianity in the present day is dependant on an uninterrupted succession from the apostles, they must be either happily ignorant of the difficulties attending that succession, or otherwise, must consider their own salvation extremely dubious. So far was ecclesiastical authority from proving an infallible preventive or remedy for divisions, that it became divided itself, and gave origin to innumerable divisions. For besides those schisms which we have noticed as existing in the head, the church

has seldom had repose from discord in the members, except when she has been asleep.

It must be acknowledged, indeed, to the honour of the church's wisdom and consistency of conduct, that she strenuously opposed all innovation both in faith and worship, *except such as suited her fancy, or ministered to her convenience.* These were neither few nor small. I shall quote a few sentences from the late Rev. Mr. Eustace, and father Maimbourg, on this subject, as unexceptionable witnesses.

“The ancient Romans loved parade and public shows, and introduced processions, rich habits, and stately ceremonies into all branches of public administration, whether civil, military, or religious. This taste so natural and so useful, because calculated, while it feasts the eye and the imagination, to cover the nakedness and littleness of man, and clothe the individual with the dignity and grandeur of the aggregate body, *was infused into christianity as soon as christianity became the religion of the empire, and with it has been transmitted unaltered to the moderns.*”*

The antiquity of the ceremonies which accompany Masses.

“The mass is the communion service, or consecration and administration of the holy sacrament. High mass is the same service, accompanied by all the ceremonies which custom and au-

* Classical Tour through Italy, Vol. I. 374—Quarto Ed.

thority have annexed to its celebration. *These ceremonies are in general very ancient, and may be traced as far back as the third century.**

Mr. Eustace, having stated, that the holy sacrament is received by the pontiff, in a sitting posture, adds in a note, "This is the only instance that exists, I believe, in the whole catholic church of receiving the holy sacrament *sitting*; it is a remnant of the primitive custom, but as that custom was suppressed at a very early period, perhaps even in the apostolic age itself, I see no reason for retaining it in one solitary instance."†

"The use of torches and of incense is supposed to have been introduced into the church, in the fourth century; it originated in the east, but soon became general: *it was founded on figurative reasons.*‡

"Thus," says Mr. Maimbourg, "the renunciation of heresy in the sixth century, soon introduced those holy customs which we now-a-days follow in the catholic church, as adoring the cross, reverencing the relics of saints, imploring their intercession, and paying obedience to the pope, as head of the universal church. *It is what Recaredus, the first catholic king of Spain practised.*"§

The difference with respect to innovations between the church and the heretics whom she

* Classical Tour, Vol. I. 387.

† Ibid. Vol. I. 378.

‡ Ibid. Vol. I. 388.

§ History of Arianism, Book 11th Vol. II. 296.

anathematized, is much the same as that between a highwayman, and an imperial robber. The latter hangs the former for doing that on a small scale, which he himself does on a large one, not only with impunity, but with the highest eclat and renown.

Heresy has been accounted the highest degree of high treason, the *Læsæ crimen Majestatis Divinæ*; and the sentence denounced against it, was that the guilty should be burned alive in public; *ut vivi in conspectu hominum comburantur*. Thus if the igniferous laws of antiquity were revived and put in force, the church must become the victim of her own severity.

More terrible punishment is due to her indeed, than to any other heretic, both on account of the number, the variety, and the exorbitance, of her innovations, and on account of the slanderous names and unmerciful measures which she applied to seceders from her communion, who had the honesty and firmness to protest against her delinquency. Had she beheld herself in the mirror of truth, she must have seen that heresy was branded on her forehead, and that the tortures she inflicted on others, if due any where, were eminently due to herself.

SECTION V.

On the power requisite for Church Government.—Excommunication.—The Inquisition.—Penal Laws.

THE just constitution of christian societies and the power necessary to maintain order and discipline, are subjects of the deepest and most serious interest, and at the same time not wholly free from difficulties. A question of history or science is generally perplexed and obscured in proportion as it is connected with the discordant passions and interests of mankind.

If we can divest ourselves of the warping partialities and antipathies, which early education, present connections, and future prospects, produce, we may not find it difficult to ascertain the truth, or something near the truth.

No society can subsist, much less accomplish any important purpose, without some established rules of proceeding, and some *ultima ratio* or final resort, in cases of disobedience. We now propose to enquire into the nature of that regimen which is essential to the purity and usefulness of a christian church. This I conceive to be a hierarchy, strictly and properly so called, as importing a sacred government, under the controul of truth and virtue, not aided by coercion in any

shape, and acknowledging no penalties but such as shall be awarded by the supreme judge, at the great day of retribution.

Of the utility and importance of discipline in a religious society, any one may be convinced who will acquaint himself with human nature, and observe the occurrences of life. In the ordinary course of things, the purposes of divine mercy are carried into effect by the progressive operation of gentle means. It is not often that the wicked make a sudden transit from the path of vice to that of virtue; much less from the extremes of ignorance and profligacy to high attainments in knowledge and rectitude. Rome was not built in a day; nor is the fair structure of personal religion raised in a moment. Men who have spent the early part of life in licentiousness often show, even in old age, and after a formal renunciation, a strong tendency to the vices of their youth. And they who have been long addicted to avarice, anger, and bitterness, seldom merge these qualities, all at once, in the liberality, gentleness, and self-command of the gospel. Old habits are not like old clothes, which we cast at pleasure; but they are the spots of the leopard, or the dusky hue of the Ethiopian.

Man is necessarily a moral, as well as a physical, and rational agent; and wisdom requires, that the culture and improvement of his moral powers should be a main object of his solicitude. Moral discipline therefore concerns every man;

and every man ought to search for the surest principles of truth, the most perfect system of ethics, and the strongest motives of conformity to it.

As all are by nature the *children of wrath*, membership in a christian church implies the previous exercise of reason, the voluntary reception of the doctrine of the gospel, and ready submission to the authority of Christ. The apostolical epistles were addressed to persons who had embraced the peculiar truths and institutions of the gospel, and who had made a cheerful surrender of themselves to the obedience of faith, or (which in human estimation is the same thing) had made a credible profession of doing so. Such are addressed as already in a state of salvation.

What then was the object of those alliances, which, in sundry places, they formed with each other? It was their mutual establishment in the faith and practice of the gospel, and their progressive preparation for that glorious state of purity and perfection which awaits the upright. From the nature and design of these fraternal associations, it is evident, that pride and turbulence ought to have no place in them. And in proportion to the sincerity and ardour with which the sublime objects of the kingdom of heaven are sought, those unholy passions, from which proceed slander and strife, wars and fightings, are hushed and subdued. Thus, by excluding from the church whatever is foreign from evangelical faith, hope, and charity, there is secured to us a

tranquil and heart-cheering retreat, in which we may rest from the irritation attendant on earthly care, and enjoy the refreshing composure afforded by the divine promises and favour.

In every government, there must be a chief magistrate. Who is supreme over the household of faith admits of no doubtful disputation.—“Be not ye called Rabbi; for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren.” Matt. 23. viii. It is hence evident, that pre-eminence belongs to Christ, and equality to his disciples, and that he who exalts himself ought to be abased, and he that humbles himself to be exalted. A proper attention to these decisive words of our Lord, would have prevented many an unhallowed contest for dominion. There is another passage in the 20th chapter of this evangelist, which ought to be collated with the one just now quoted. James and John, the sons of Zebadee, misapprehending the nature of their master’s kingdom, made application for the most honourable stations in it; and though they were disappointed and reprov’d, the other ten disciples were indignant at the attempt of the two brethren. Then Jesus, to allay their anger, and rectify their mistakes, called them unto him and said, “Ye know that the princes of the gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so amongst you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be

chief among you, let him be your servant." Our Lord's exaltation to his mediatorial dominion, was the reward of his voluntary abasement.

But it may be said, that ample powers of jurisdiction and government were conferred on the disciples and apostles, after our Lord's resurrection. To me it does not appear that there is much difference in the instructions which our Lord gave to his missionaries, prior to his crucifixion, and those he gave afterwards, except in this, that by the latter, the sphere of their labours was greatly extended. In the first instance, they were sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and were restrained from turning aside into *the cities of the gentiles*; in the latter, they were commissioned to go *into all the world*, and preach the gospel to every creature. But according to both, they were to preach, to baptize, and to perform miracles. And thus as Christ was sent by the Father, so he sent his ministers, and the glory, (of performing supernatural works), which he had received, he transferred to them.

The moral discipline of the gospel is too great a subject to be copiously treated of here; we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to one particular branch of it. Our Lord foretold that *offences would come*; and as the correction of offences, under every government, is a delicate but important branch of legislation, let us see what provision is made for it. Among the members of christian societies, it may be expected

that some will walk disorderly and cause scandal, by neglecting divine truth and ordinances, and others, by violating the laws of temperance, justice, and mercy. There are many ways in which offenders are made to feel the effects of their misconduct; and the genius of any government may be judged of, pretty accurately, by the penalties under which its laws are enforced. We shall consider several passages of the new Testament in order to illustrate its doctrine on this head. The first we shall quote is Matt. 18. xv.—“Moreover if thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone,” &c.

In this paragraph, there are two words on the import of which the sense mainly depends; the first designates the offender, and the second the tribunal before which he is to be called, if not reclaimed by admonition.

Among the jews it was not usual to give the appellation of brother to a gentile; and here it seems to denote a member of the same religious community with the person offended. So, the apostle Paul, writing to the Thessalonians,—“Now, we command you, brethren, in the name of the Lord Jesus, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly.”

The next enquiry is, what we are to understand by the church?

The churches of Judea, mentioned in the epistle to the Galatians, were christian societies formed in that country. Our Lord may be understood

as giving instruction to his disciples relative to their deportment in time to come, as members of societies to be formed in his name. The church intended, is defined more particularly in the sequel of this paragraph; For, says our Lord, where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. The high authority of an assembly so constituted is declared at the 18th verse—Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. The phrases “to bind” and “to loose” are jewish: the former signifies *to restrain* by declaring a thing unlawful, and the latter *to permit* by declaring a thing lawful. What christian societies do for the preservation of order, agreeably to the word, the institutions, and example of Christ, meets with his approbation, and being ratified in heaven, needs not to be enforced by civil penalties on earth. Thus then, if differences take place between the members of a christian society, the person offending is to be admonished privately by the offended; if this admonition is ineffectual, it is to be repeated in the presence of two or three witnesses; if it is still without proper effect, the matter is to be laid before the church; and if the offender neglect to hear the church, he is to be treated as a heathen and a publican.* This is the *ultima*

* The jews valued themselves on their freedom, and hated whatever reminded them of their subjection to the Romans;

ratio, or final resort, in the case of a disorderly and incorrigible brother.

To this doctrine it may be objected, that there are some expressions employed in the new Testament, relative to the chastisement of obstinate offenders, which signify a great deal more than a simple rejection. For instance, in the case of the incestuous person who had married his father's wife, the apostle says, "In the name of the Lord Jesus, when ye are gathered together,—to deliver such an one unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus:" and again, "Holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck; of whom are Hymeneus and Alexander, whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." (1 Cor. 5. iv. 1. Tim. 1. ix.) It hence appears, that whatever might be the na-

hence the name and occupation of a publican, or, collector of the taxes imposed by the Romans, were in their eyes extremely odious. If one of their own nation engaged in this offensive employment, he was no longer permitted to unite with his brethren in the solemn worship of the temple; hence, in the parable of the Pharisee and Publican, the latter is represented as *standing afar off*, and deeply humbled with a sense of the vileness of his character, would not so much as raise his eyes to heaven, but smote on his breast, and prayed, *God be merciful to me a sinner*. The jews carried this aversion to the farmers and collectors of the Roman revenue so far, that they could scarcely behave with common civility to them: in this, however, they are by no means to be imitated.

ture of this punishment, its end was benevolent ; and of course, it was not a consignment to eternal perdition, nor any denunciation adapted to injure the temporal circumstances of the offender. Some have supposed that nothing more is intended than excommunication, and they account for the singularity of the phraseology by saying, that the world is divided between God and the devil, and that to cut any one off from the fellowship of the saints, is, virtually, to consign him to the wicked one.

I think it is pretty plain, however, that excommunication is not intended in the case of Hymeneus and Alexander, because, if they were not members of a church, they could not be cut off from it ; and if they were, it belonged not to the apostle, but to the assembly, to perform this act of discipline.

It is probable that these perverters of the gospel were two of the grievous wolves against whom the apostle warned the elders of Ephesus in his charge to them at Miletus : it is not certain that they were in communion with the church, but if they were, the apostle's delivering them to Satan, having taken place without the concurrence or knowledge of the church, could not be a church censure.

According to our citation from the epistle to the Corinthians, the first and principal effect of being delivered to Satan was the destruction of the flesh, which must be understood either, liter-

ally, to denote the body's being wasted by disease, or figuratively, to signify the annihilation of pride and cupidity. The former appears to me the most agreeable to the analogy of Scripture facts and language. For instance, Job was left for a while to the power of Satan, who afflicted him with noisome ulcers from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, insomuch that he became loathsome to his family and himself. The daughter of Abraham who was so bowed together, that she could not lift herself up, and whom our Lord healed, is said to have been *bound by Satan*. (Luke, xiii, 11). Paul himself was visited by a messenger of Satan who buffeted him, and this was permitted by Providence, lest he should be elated above measure through the abundance of revelations given to him. The messenger in question was, I suppose, some bodily infirmity caused by the agency of the devil, which impaired the natural vigour and injured the address of the apostle. (2d. Cor. x, 10. Gal. iv, 13, 14.)

The titles and actions, ascribed to the devil in the Scripture, plainly indicate his being an active and efficient partizan, in the sins and miseries of the world.

But if the interpretation of these difficult texts, which has been given, be admitted, it may still be asked, Had not Paul and the primitive church recourse to something besides *reason and persuasion* when they gave up incorrigible offenders to the rod of Satan, and to the discipline of noxious

diseases? Granted, but in this awful prerogative, the apostles and the primitive church stand alone.

There are many things which every Christian Society of every age and nation ought to have in common with the primitive churches as instituted by the apostles; but those churches had some peculiar endowments, such as the power of speaking languages which had not been previously acquired, discerning the secrets of mens' hearts, and healing diseases, which it would be impious presumption for any church in modern times to pretend to. The gospel, on its first introduction, had to encounter such a host of formidable enemies, that it was necessary it should be aided by more than common advantages; but a greater hindrance to its success than the irregular conduct of its professed friends, cannot be imagined; it was therefore expedient that a power should be given of inflicting immediate correction on such pernicious offenders. Hence it was that among the Corinthians they *who eat and drank unworthily*, behaving at the Lord's Supper as at a common meal, and that not the most orderly one, *eat and drank damnation (punishment) to themselves*. For this cause many among them were afflicted with debility, and some were fallen asleep, or, in other words, were dead. (1st Cor. xi, 30.) Paul denominates the miraculous power which was given him for punishing disobedience among the professors of christianity *a rod*. (1st Cor. iv, 21).— Yet it was a rod which he was not at liberty to

use capriciously, to gratify private resentment ; hence he speaks of it as a power which the Lord had given him for edification, and not destruction. (2d. Cor. x, 6, & xiii, 10.) It is probable that the authority for exercising this penal discipline dwelt especially in the apostles ; but it was not confined to them : hence, when exhorting the church at Corinth to restore the incestuous person who had been reclaimed in the school of Satan, the apostle says “ *sufficient to such a man is this punishment which was inflicted of many,*” that is, by the majority of the church. (2d. Cor. ii, 6.)—If there was any difference between this power as exercised by a Christian Society, or by an individual apostle, I should suppose it was this, that by the former it was limited to the sphere of the church, whereas by the latter it might be directed against a deceitful and injurious opponent, though a declared enemy to the christian name. Thus at Paphos, the apostle Paul struck Elymas, the sorcerer, with instant blindness, because, being full of subtilty and mischief, he did not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord. (*Acts*, xiii. 8.) Mr. Beausobre, (pastor of the French church at Berlin, and author of the History of Manicheism,) in a discourse on the chastisement of Elymas, takes occasion to ask, *whether persons called heretics ought to be punished by ministers of the gospel, and civil magistrates?* To which he replies “ No, they may not. For erroneous opinions may be held by men of upright lives, and

their errors may be involuntary. If they cannot believe some doctrines, it is because they cannot harmonize them with their own ideas, and if they cannot be persuaded to profess they do believe them, while they do not, it is because they cannot persuade themselves to tell a lie. Men who dare not disguise their sentiments deserve praise for their sincerity, rather than blame for their zeal." We have no more right to imitate the power which struck Elymas with blindness, for perverting the right ways of God, than we have to imitate the lightning which strikes a man with death.

The apostle Paul, in enjoining the mode of treatment to be pursued towards a heretic, describes him as one who *is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself*. He must of course be conscious that what he taught was not true, that what he did was not right, or that he taught and acted from culpable motives. What was to be done with this hardened and self-condemned offender, after repeated admonition had proved ineffectual? Was he to be burned alive over a slow fire, or have his flesh and sinews lacerated with hot pincers, till he expired with the intolerable torture? No; "*reject*" ; in his person, his character, and his goods, injure him not; but reject him from religious communion. This one short word expresses the whole penal code of genuine christianity, so far as relates to the present life and to church government.

The christian religion in its early promulgation presents a great and instructive mystery.—The rapidity of its progress has sometimes been held forth as a proof of its divine original. But it is not evident that the mere success of christianity, taken apart from the nature of the change it effected, and the circumstances under which it was achieved, is a proof of its truth. Other religions have risen as quickly and prevailed as extensively.

But when we survey the triumphs of christianity in connection with the doctrines it teaches, the morals it inculcates, the motives to which it appeals, and the agents by whom its designs have been carried into effect, we then see something of its peculiar strength and glory. The author of christianity was crucified in apparent weakness; yet in that apparent weakness, he gained his most illustrious victory. Paul was with the Corinthians in much weakness and trembling; but he ceased to be discouraged at this, on learning that *when he was weak, then he was strong*. He found that it was not by human might that the spiritual temple was to rise. It was ordained that foolish things should confound the wise, and weak the powerful! The world was to be enriched by a treasure contained in earthen vessels.

The object proposed in the gospel œconomy is no trifling one, and could not be accomplished without great energy. But there are other kinds of power beside brute force. The sway of opinion,

though less ostentatious, is not less real, than that which moves a mountain or governs an empire.

The mighty revolution contemplated in the gospel was to be brought about by preaching, and in discharge of their ministry, the preachers had to make their appeal to the judgment, the conscience, and the affections.

In addressing themselves to the rational and moral faculties of their hearers, they had some peculiar advantages in their extraordinary gifts. These miraculous gifts were not designed to secure their personal safety, nor yet to constrain belief to their testimony. Peter could not deliver himself from prison, nor James from the edge of the sword. Before the descent of the Holy Spirit, the apostles were extremely timorous; they were afterwards firm and courageous, but still as assailable as ever. And as their miraculous powers did not make their persons invulnerable, so neither did they render their doctrines irresistible. Sometimes the acrimony of unbelief was irritated by the greatness of the evidence which opposed it.—Thus, in the case of the impotent man, it was acknowledged by the heads of the council, that a notable miracle had been wrought, and *therefore*, they proceeded to threaten. To be able to receive or reject the evidence of truth is essential to man as a free and responsible agent.

Some are perplexed because there are no miracles now, though there are millions of Jews, Pagans, and Mohammedans. We ought to be cau-

tious of misapprehending the nature, and ascribing too much to the influence of miracles. Their great use was as attestations of the truth of the apostles' testimony to the resurrection of Christ. The resurrection of Christ was the great point on which the divinity of his mission was suspended. Raised from the dead, and ascended on high, he shed down those powers which rendered the report of the witnesses credible. The truth was then left to find its way by means of its innate energy and the accompanying power of divine grace.

The just and legitimate end of the Christian ministry, in every age, is a spiritual one, viz. *the perfecting of the saints*. Hence, it interferes not with the political constitutions of civil governments, nor with the relationships of social and domestic life. The believing wife was still bound to the infidel husband, and the believing husband to the infidel wife. The slave who embraced the gospel was the freeborn son of God, but he was still a slave to his master, although his master was a christian. The Roman citizen was still a Roman citizen, and might assert the privileges of his rank, without bringing any merited reproach on his humility and submissiveness. The prince was still a prince, and the subject still a subject; and the obligations of the one to protect, and of the other to obey, continued unimpaired.

As the objects to be answered by the ministry of the gospel and the discipline of churches were spiritual, the adoption and use of carnal and secu-

lar means must be as unfit and inefficient as the application of mechanical force to accelerate the growth of plants, or of reason and eloquence to transport a rock.

When the christian minister has given a clear and faithful exhibition of the facts, the doctrines, and the precepts, of divine revelation, *warning every man and teaching every man*, he has acquitted himself of his obligations. The faithful servant will receive his recompense, whether successful or not. When Christ was on the earth, and *spake as never man spake*, there were many who would not hear, or, if they heard and reflected, it was with a view to entangle him in his talk. Did he draw down the vengeance of the skies upon them? Nay, he endured the contumely and contradiction of sinners; when reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously. And in thus acting and suffering, he set an example, in order that his disciples should copy it. What then shall we say of those ages in which the gospel of peace breathed war and destruction; and in which the simple religion of him *who made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant*, bedizened out with the tawdry trappings of wordly pomp and dominion, marched under the blood-stained banners of persecution. We must acknowledge that there never was a more foul and deadly corruption of christianity, than that which was effected by its

being pressed into the service of an insidious and remorseless system of intolerance. This system, more sanguinary than the laws of Draco, is too extensive and complex, and uninviting, to be unravelled in all its details. In addition to what has already been advanced in order to illustrate its origin and progress, we shall make a few further observations on it, as it approached the climax of its impudence and guilt.

We have already observed that exclusion from religious fellowship is the only penalty to be awarded, even for the most criminal departure from the faith and obedience of the gospel. This is a measure of defence and discipline obvious and rational, and well adapted to be of use to any society founded on principles of truth, justice, and piety. But it is fearful to observe how the laws and spirit of christianity were violated by the severities, which, in the lapse of time, were associated with this dernier resort for their maintenance. These severities were of heathen extraction, as appears from a passage in the Commentaries of Cæsar.* The Son of God came to *destroy* the works of the devil ; but the princes and prelates who exercised lordship in the church, *spared* and

* *De bello Gallico, Lib. 6, Cap. 12.* Si quis aut privatus, aut publicus, eorum decreto non steterit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum, ac sceleratorum habentur : iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant : neque iis potentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur.

adopted them. It thus came to pass, that a man under sentence of excommunication was considered as cut off from all civil and municipal rights, from all claims both to justice and mercy, and as an object of aversion both to heaven and earth, although, perhaps, his real crime was nothing more than a manly and virtuous resistance to the enactments of an usurped and tyrannical authority.

The malignant and ferocious spirit, fostered by ignorance and despotism in the church, had a signal triumph in the establishment and success of the Holy Office, or Inquisition. This infamous tribunal collected and reduced to order the scattered fragments of infernal polity, and brought the art of persecution to a horrid state of maturity and perfection.

The first inquisitors had no regular courts ; but having ascertained the number, strength, and riches, of the heretics, in any diocese, gave information to the bishop, urging him to curse, banish, or imprison, all heretical persons. Princes also were excited to espouse the cause of the church, and employ their vast resources in the annihilation of her adversaries. About the year 1224, the emperor Frederick II. issued four edicts against heretics, by which the sanguinary measures of the Holy Office were greatly aided. In 1229, the Inquisition was organized into a pretty regular shape in Thoulouse, and was given in charge to the monks of the Cistercian order ;

but in 1233, it was transferred to the Dominicans. Innocent IV. extended it to all Italy except Naples, where it was always held in detestation.—About the same time, it was introduced into Spain, a congenial soil. In 1480, it was established in Seville by Ferdinand and Isabella. In 1536, Portugal was blessed with it at the request of King John III. and in 1571 it was transported to the Brazils by Philip II.

Itinerant agents were found most efficient for carrying into effect the barbarous designs of inquisitorial policy, as they were less liable to be arrested in their duty by feelings of tenderness and commiseration towards the sufferers. Sometimes, however, the people lost all patience, and rose in arms to massacre the vagrant fiends as they would a bear. In this summary way, justice was executed on Conrad of Marpurg, a German inquisitor, who derived his commission from Gregory IX. and who had caused many illustrious persons to be put to death, the same day on which they were accused. Prior to this, the same fate had befallen Pierre de Castlenau, who began his labours as legate and inquisitor under authority from Innocent III. in France. The assassination of Castlenau was followed by the excommunication of the earl of Thoulouse, in whose territory it had taken place ; after which a crusading army of an hundred thousand men was raised to execute the sentence of the church, and slaughter the Albigenses. This army, whose fanaticism was stim-

ulated by the same indulgences as those which marched against the moslems, was at first headed by ecclesiastics; but the command of it was afterwards given to Simon earl of Montfort, a man who, under the specious mask of zeal for religion, indulged the propensities of a cruel and avaricious heart.

This iniquitous war against a people whose chief offence consisted in their firm attachment to liberty and virtue, was disgraced by atrocities which cannot be thought of, but with feelings of disgust and indignant abhorrence; and after agitating France for near half a century, ended in the more firm establishment of that despotic and inquisitorial policy in which it originated.

The Dominican friars, being intrusted with the superintendence of the new tribunal for the protection of the faith, were indefatigable in multiplying its officers and extending the range of its influence. Spain was so unfortunate as to become pre-eminent for its obsequiousness to this tribunal, the pernicious results of which soon became visible through all ranks of society. It was patronized by the mistaken piety of Ferdinand and Isabella, in the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, where there were erected no less than eighteen inquisitorial courts, each attended with its counsellors, secretaries, and bailiffs; in addition to which, there were upwards of twenty thousand familiars dispersed through the country, in the capacity of spies and informers.

Notwithstanding so much having been done to prepare the way for the Inquisition by the laws of Constantine, Justinian, and Charlemagne, and by the decrees of successive councils, popular indignation often broke out against it.

In the year 1279, the people rose in Parma, after a number of persons had been committed to the flames, and liberated a lady whom the officers of the Inquisition were conveying to prison. They then proceeded to the convent of the Dominicans, sacked it, beat the friars, and turned them out of the city.

In the year 1546, a fierce and bloody commotion was excited in Naples by the viceroy of Charles V. attempting to establish an office for the Inquisition. Before the viceroy proposed his wish to the council of the city, he contrived to have several persons put into office on whose ductility he could rely. When the hour for making his proposition arrived, the viceroy introduced it with the utmost moderation and caution, at the same time extolling the Holy Office, and magnifying the service it would render to religion and government. The Neapolitans, however, declared that they would rather suffer themselves to be torn in pieces than submit to such intolerable degradation, and formed a league in defence of their liberties. The next step of the viceroy was the employment of the army, and the people of Naples were compelled, at the point of the sword, to yield to the overwhelming power of

their despot. Thirty of the chiefs of the insurgents were executed, and the country was condemned to pay a fine of one hundred thousand ducats, besides the damages of the insurrection.

The pontiff Paul IV. was a strenuous promoter of the Inquisition at Rome, by which he made himself so odious, not only to the populace, but also to persons of superior condition, both clergy and laity, that on his death in 1559, they rose in a tumultuous manner, cast down his statue, broke it to pieces, and threw the fragments into the Tyber. They then proceeded to the prison of the Holy Office, forced their way in, and set fire to the archives, doors, and windows.*

Misericordia et justitia is the motto of the Inquisition. But if mercy and justice were the objects aimed at in the erection of this tribunal, its proceedings have been strangely at variance with its end. Its very constitution and forms of business argued either a profound ignorance of justice, or an impudent defiance of its authority; and as for mercy, it may be doubted if the dungeons of the Inquisition were ever cheered by her smile. Justice and mercy were insulted and set at defiance by inquisitorial policy in every step of its progress. Under the ascendancy and tutelage of these illustrious attributes of goodness, most of the sufferers who have languished in the cells of the Inquisition, would have been

* Inquisition Unmasked, Vol. I, Chap. 3.

allowed the full enjoyment of liberty, with all the rights of citizenship, and have been accounted worthy and useful members of society. In the place of this, they were made prisoners without being informed of the accusation laid against them, or of their accuser; were deprived of all means of repelling defamation, and put to excruciating tortures in order to make them criminate themselves.

If mercy and justice had presided in the arrangements of the Holy Office, its proceedings would have been open and free, in the room of being secret and arbitrary; and its judges and subordinate officers would have been men of good repute for knowledge and beneficence, in the room of being proverbial for ignorance and coarseness.

The last act in the inquisitorial tragedy, the *auto de fe*, was however public enough. The utmost care was taken that it should be made known, and conducted with pomp and ceremony, as though it was some joyous event, in which justice and humanity were signally conspicuous. In this audacious outrage on the authority of heaven and on the spirit of christianity, the stern and sanguinary policy of the Inquisition became awfully manifest by the light of its own baleful fires. There was exhibited the disgusting spectacle of religious processions, the displaying of crucifixes, the singing of psalms, and the celebration of mass, with the deliberate butchery

of man, (perhaps some of the most virtuous of their species) with their mouths gagged to hinder them from uttering their wrongs.*

The most formal and pompous *auto* on record is that of Madrid in the year 1680. Attendance on this infamous tragedy, performed on the sabbath day, was encouraged by the granting of indulgences. The prisoners on this occasion, were in number 120, seventy-two of whom were women. The Inquisition of Portugal from its first establishment up to the year 1732 committed to the flames 1454 persons, the greater part of whom were charged with no other crime but that of

* “How many instances have occurred in Portugal, of men being seized at night and taken with the greatest secrecy to the prisons of the Holy Office, when their property at the same time became the prey of the Inquisition. Some years afterwards, these individuals, whom no one ever suspected, appear at an *auto de fe*, with a gag in their mouths. On these occasions, a priest ascends the pulpit, and thunders out against these wretched beings a catalogue of their crimes. When this mockery is finished, the victims are led to perish in the flames, without being permitted to utter even a groan.”—*Da Costa's Nar. Vol. I. 121, quoted in Limborch's Hist. of the Inquisition, 292.*

It does not appear that gags were always used at *autos*; but it was always in the power of the inquisitors to use them whenever they found occasion. If prisoners were released from the Inquisition, oaths of secrecy and silence as to all which they had seen and suffered, were exacted. What need of precautions like these, if the events which transpired within the walls of the Inquisition had been in harmony with dictates of justice and mercy?

being of jewish belief. In the month of Feb. 1501, sixty-seven women were burnt in Toledo on the same charge. And in the duchy of Lorraine, one inquisitor brought 900 females to the flames as witches.

This is the tribunal which raised its head, in menacing pre-eminence, over all the institutions of Europe, and subscribed its insignia with the words *justice* and *mercy*.

The criminal code of the Inquisition is founded on the enactments of misguided princes, the decrees of factious councils, and, above all, on the *Decretals*, those spurious instruments of imposture and oppression. Nothing can be more antichristian in its constitution than a court erected on the ruins of moral and intellectual freedom, and which abused the sacred names of justice and mercy to the vilest purposes of injustice and cruelty. The principal trace of mercy to be found in the Holy Office, while in power, was its tenderness in declining to execute its own nefarious sentences. The wretches who could use refinements in cruelty within their gloomy walls, in order to extort a confession of guilt, were too gentle and tender-hearted to be the executioners of their own verdicts.

The basest and most disingenuous artifices were necessary to disguise the vile politics of the Holy Office. The sentence of torture which is pronounced, "*Christi nomine invocato*," says that "if during the said torture he (the prisoner) should

die, should be maimed, or any effusion of blood or mutilation of members should thence ensue, the blame and charge thereof shall rest on himself."

The chief modes of torture used by the Holy Office, were the pulley, the rack, and the fire. I shall leave the adumbration of these to the imagination of my readers, merely observing, that in the torture by fire, the prisoner was placed with his naked legs in the stocks, the soles of his feet were then well greased with lard, and a blazing chafing-dish applied to them, by the heat of which they became perfectly fried. When his complaints of the pain were loudest, a board was placed between his feet and the fire, and he was commanded to confess; but this was taken away if he persisted in his obstinacy.

The Holy Office is very merciful where it ought to be just, i. e. it is merciful to informers under cover of the disgusting sophistry, that in falsely deposing to the impeachment of an innocent person, they designed to produce his amendment, and not his punishment.

It so happened, whether from design or incident, that the first buildings appropriated to the use of the Inquisition in Spain, were ancient and gloomy structures, the very sight of which was enough to strike terror. These were the palace of the counts of Barcelona, the palace of the Moorish kings at Zaragoza, and the old Roman fortress in Seville. "In one of these edifices, whose black and furrowed walls announce the

melancholy gloom that reigns within; massive piles, which have long withstood the injuries of time, and for ages witnessed the rising and setting of the sun without receiving comfort from its beams; sable and rugged structures, on which whole generations have looked with terror and dismay—in one of these edifices in short, which, immoveable amidst the lapse of time, and whence when the prisoner comes forth he can reveal nothing, present the tremendous image of eternity, was usually confined the father of a family, perhaps his amiable wife or tender daughter, the exemplary priest, or peaceful scholar; and in the mean time his house was bathed in tears and filled with desolation. Venerable matrons and timid damsels have been hurried from their homes, and, ignorant of the cause of their misfortune, have awakened from the frenzy of the brain, and found themselves here alone and helpless in a solitary cell.”*

* *Inquisition Unmasked*, Vol. I. 191. The author of this Work was D. Antonio Puigblanch, a member of the Spanish Cortes, and of course a Roman catholic. The *Inquisition Unmasked*, being a historical and philosophical account of that tremendous tribunal, founded on authentic documents; and exhibiting the necessity of its suppression, was written and published at a time when the national congress of Spain was about to deliberate on this important measure. The result of the deliberation and debate on this occasion, which lasted from the 8th of December to the 5th of February, was a decree issued the 22d. of February, 1813, which abolished the Inquisition. The present King of Spain was no sooner restored to his throne, than he an-

An ancient and renowned sufferer has given a pleasing idea of the grave as an asylum from woe, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the

annulled the acts of the Cortes, and re-established the Inquisition by a decree dated 21st July, 1814.

The manly and spirited efforts of many illustrious Roman catholics in the cause of religious liberty bring to my thoughts a sentence or two in the late Dr. Buchanan's introductory remarks to his account of the Inquisition at Goa. "Many excellent catholics," says he "suffer unjustly in their intercourse with protestants, from the ancient and exclusive articles of their own church, which they themselves neither profess nor believe."

"There are at this day, in India and in England, members of that communion, who deserve the affection and respect of all good men; and whose cultivated minds will arraign the corruptions of their own religion, which the author is about to describe, more severely, than he will permit himself to do."—*Christian Researches in Asia*, 153.

The *Inquisition Unmasked*, considered as an attack on that iniquitous tribunal, by one who was intimately acquainted with its policy and acts, is a noble work. It breathes a generous spirit befitting a statesman and a patriot. There are some passages, indeed, in which the author has argued in defence of liberty on doubtful and inadequate principles, as *the authority of the fathers, the example of the church, &c.*; and there are others in which he has stopped short of the just and legitimate conclusions to which the great axioms of political and religious liberty should have carried him. At the close of his Work, Mr. Puigblanch gives the outline of a tribunal for the conservation of the faith, which according to his scheme of reform, might supply the place of the Inquisition, *Vol. II.* 444. In this tribunal, the bishop, in each diocese, was to be sole judge, contumacy was to be punished with banishment, and the dogmatizer or propagator of sects was to forfeit his life! What must the Inquisition have been, when it appeared intolerable in the eyes of a man holding such sentiments as these!

weary are at rest. But the Holy Office pursues its victims into this last retreat, the *house appointed for all living*, in which all distinctions are levelled, and at the bare thought of which, a feeling of tenderness and humanity will steal over any heart which is not indurated by remorseless depravity. “The memory of him who died upright in the opinions of all is pursued with malignity, even a century after he had ceased to exist, if after that lapse of time any one seeks to avenge himself, or takes an interest in his defamation. His bones are dug out of his grave and burnt, unless already mouldered into dust; whilst his property is wrested from its present possessors, whatever be the title by which they have acquired it, becoming subject to confiscation from the moment the deceased committed a delinquency. In this particular, we Spaniards may complain of the Inquisition as the Romans did of Domitian, and even with greater reason; since, by the confiscation of inheritances under the most frivolous pretexts, no security exists in the testaments of the deceased, neither have the heirs or legatees been allowed to enjoy their privileges, nor have the slaves who had been manumitted by the testator known whether they were really free or not.”*

In the various ways in which men trample on the eternal laws of justice, piety, and beneficence,

* Inquisition Unmasked, Vol. I. 179.

the two most remote from each other would seem to be *the enjoyment of ease and pleasure, and the practice of harshness and cruelty*. But the junction of these opposite forms of vice in the same person exhibits the climax of disgusting depravity. It is the union of libertinism and barbarity which makes the character of king Henry VIII. so consummately detestable. The exorbitant power and clandestine policy of the Holy Office supplied its ministers with greater facilities for this double criminality, infamous and execrable beyond the general walks of vice, than those enjoyed by the English monarch; and there is cogent evidence for believing that the inquisitors availed themselves of these facilities. *Female beauty* might be added to the catalogue of crimes which came under the cognizance of this tribunal. A historian having mentioned the case of a young and interesting jewess in Seville about the middle of the 15th century, with whom an inquisitor first committed lewdness, and then had her delivered over to the flames, exclaims, with a burst of honourable indignation, "Oh! inquisitors, savage beasts, how long will God endure your tyrannical and cruel acts?"*

It may seem surprising, and almost incredible that any civil government, engaging to defend the person and the property of the subject, should have admitted within itself such a court as that of

* Inquisition Unmasked, Vol. II. 381.

the Inquisition. The wonder, however, will cease, when it is considered, that the church and the state, being leagued together, became partners in the basest and most loathsome craft and oppression. A portion of the immense wealth seized by the inquisitors, as forfeited by non-conformity or heresy, went into the hands of the secular rulers. For this, and similar reasons, the spiritual and temporal potentates played into each others hands, and united their artifices and power, to strengthen each others authority and rivet the chains of despotism.*

I have thus endeavoured to lay open in its origin and progress, its concomitants and results, the foulest and most deadly corruption that ever diffused its poison through society, or tarnished the lustre and impaired the energy of the christian religion. The Inquisition displays the inclement and pestiferous policy of intolerance in its full growth, and whenever this policy stops short of an Inquisition, or some kindred institution, it may be considered in a state of infancy and imperfection.†

* Bishop Berkley, *Minute Philosopher*, Vol. I. 305, quotes *P. Paolo istoria dell' Inquisizione*, p. 42, to prove, that the court of Rome opposed settling the Inquisition in a country where the secular power endeavoured to introduce it.

† The Recorder of London, on the Trial of W. Penn in 1670, exclaimed, “*Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them; and certainly it will never be well with us till something like unto the Spanish Inquisition be in England.*”—*State Trials*, Vol. II. 611.

The legislation of every country in Europe has been disgraced by the enactment of penal laws; all of which are branches of that policy on which the Holy Office was organized. The illusions of fanaticism and selfishness have blinded the eyes of mankind to one most important truth connected with this subject, viz. that the injustice and malignity of persecution do not depend on the badness of the cause in favour of which, or the badness of that in opposition to which, it is employed; it is never worse than when resorted to in aid of the noblest objects.

I shall not enter into a minute and formal specification of the harsh and illiberal statutes enacted by British parliaments and continental legislators within the last three hundred years.—Most of these vexatious and oppressive Acts, passed in times of discord and faction, when every

Mr. Southey, having described the fits and convulsions produced by the preaching of Berridge and Hickes, says, “It may excite astonishment in other countries, and reasonable regret in this, that there should be no authority capable of restraining extravagancies and indecencies like these.”—*Life of Wesley, Vol. II. 326.*

In another place, Mr. Southey, having spoken of George Bell, a lunatic, who attempted to restore a blind man to sight, says, “The ecclesiastical authorities ought to have a power of sending such persons to Bedlam, for the sake of religion and decency, and for the general good.”—*Ibid Vol. II. 339.*

If ever we are to be favoured with *something like an Inquisition*, it must be introduced under cover of specious pretences of this nature.

sentiment of wisdom and equity was forgotten in the fierce collisions of contending parties.— We may felicitate ourselves that we live in more pacific and happy times, in which, the inalienable rights of man, and the just principles of social order, are gaining a glorious ascendancy over the bigotry and violence of former ages.

The Lutheran Reformation is one of the most important events on record. The actors in this great revolution knew but little of the principles of religious liberty ; but the agitation they caused shook the throne of ecclesiastical despotism, and prepared the way for the emancipation of the human mind.

Henry VIII. for writing a *Defence of the Seven Sacraments, against Luther*, received from the pope the title of Fidei Defensor ; and it might occur to an ambitious monarch, that if he was *defender of the faith*, he might also become *head of the church*.

Let us see how this prince acquitted himself in the discharge of these high functions. In the parliament of the year 1538, an act passed *for abolishing diversity of opinions*. This act proposes six definitive articles of faith relating to subjects then fiercely disputed, which articles were enforced with so much severity, that the act exhibiting them was called the Bloody Statute of six articles. To write or preach against these articles exposed a man to the loss of property, liberty, and life ; if a man could be supposed to possess

and enjoy either under the dominion of such a capricious tyrant. In maintaining the doctrines of transubstantiation and of his own spiritual supremacy, it is no wonder that the royal theologian should find other arguments necessary beside those which appeal to the understanding. It has been computed that fifty-nine persons, some clergy and some laity, received sentence of death in the reign of Henry, for denying his supreme authority in the church. Among these were Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas Moore, chancellor of England, and author of *Utopia*. There were also three Carthusian priors, whose execution was deeply lamented by the people.

Of those who suffered for denying the *real presence*, Lambert was the most distinguished. Being brought before archbishop Cranmer as a heretic, he appealed to the king as head of the church. His trial, in Westminster Hall, was conducted with pompous formality; he defended himself with learning and ingenuity, but was found guilty and executed with circumstances of savage brutality. Anne Askew, a lady of distinction, was burned in Smithfield, for non-conformity to the *Bloody Statute of six articles*. On one occasion, the same cart conveyed three Roman catholics, and three protestants, to execution; the former for denying the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, and the latter for their disbelief of transubstantiation.

Henry was succeeded by his only son, the Sixth and last of the Edwards. He was under ten years

of age at the time of his father's death. But as far as his disposition can be known, it was humane and amiable. The executive government was entrusted to the hands of sixteen persons, nominated by the will of the late king, during the prince's minority.

In the year 1549, a commission was given to the archbishop of Canterbury with six other prelates and some laymen, to search after all anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the common prayer, in order that they might be reclaimed and pardoned, if penitent, and, if not, excommunicated, imprisoned, and delivered over to the secular arm. By this inquisitorial commission, Joan Boucher, the maid of Kent, was brought to the stake in 1550, for denying that Christ partook of the flesh of the virgin; and in the following year, George Van Parr, a Dutchman, was committed to the flames for disbelief of Christ's divinity. It is said that he was a man of a strict and virtuous life, and that he suffered with great firmness of mind. The creed ascribed to the maid of Kent is nearly as unintelligible as those fabricated in ancient councils; but it does not appear that any crime was laid to her charge except her heterodox belief, and the obstinacy with which she asserted it. The young king was extremely averse to sign the warrant for her execution; and when prevailed on by Cranmer, who reasoned with him on precedents taken from the Jewish history, he was rather silenced than satisfied, and told the

archbishop that if he did wrong, it was in submission to *his* authority, and that *he* must bear the blame.

Queen Mary, of bloody memory, immediately after her accession to the throne on the death of her brother, made known her intention of re-admitting the authority of the pope. During the two first years of her reign, she seemed disposed to be moderate in the use of her power; but her subjects ridiculed and caricatured her religion, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, bishop of London, excited her to the adoption of those sanguinary measures by which she secured to herself infamous renown. This princess had no occasion to trouble herself much about the theory of persecution, as the *Statute for burning heretics* supplied her with all necessary apparatus. Smithfield was in a blaze; and Cranmer, who had espoused the cause of lady Jane Grey, was absolved of the guilt of treason, but committed to the flames for heresy. Thus, his severe and erroneous counsel to king Edward, in the affair of the maid of Kent, recoiled on himself.

During the reign of Elizabeth, the murderous Statute just referred to, continued in force, and several other acts were passed which diversified the form and extended the range of intolerant policy. The act of supremacy empowered "her highness, her heirs and successors," "to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts,

and enormities whatsoever, which, by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, could or might lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, or restrained.”

The Act of uniformity (1st Eliz. ch. 2) enjoined all ministers to use the book of common prayer in the celebration of divine service; and subjected every one who refused to use it, or who used any other, or who spoke in derogation of it, to deprivation and imprisonment.

The statutes of recusancy (1st Eliz. ch. 2.—23 Eliz. ch. 1) subjected all who absented themselves from divine worship in the established church, to a forfeiture of one shilling to the poor, every sabbath they should be so absent, and twenty pounds to the crown, if they continued such absence for a month together.

The High commission court was founded on a clause in the act of supremacy, which authorised the queen and her successors to exercise spiritual jurisdiction by the appointment of commissioners. Forty-four commissioners were accordingly appointed, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics, and any three of whom were a quorum. These ministers of the queen's spiritual supremacy caused the galling pressure of the penal statutes to be felt both by puritans and Roman catholics throughout the realm. The latter indeed suffered much more severely than the former. This may seem strange, when it is considered that the queen had a taste for stateliness and pomp in religious wor-

ship, which the puritans abhorred, and that she had no objection to a little mystery in doctrines and ceremonies.

A large portion of the sufferings of the Roman catholics in the reign of Elizabeth may be fairly attributed to their foreign connections. The conduct of the popes, to say the least, was extremely imprudent and irritating. When the accession of Elizabeth was notified to Paul IV. by the English ambassador at Rome, the pontiff replied "That the kingdom of England was held in fee of the apostolic see; that Elizabeth being illegitimate, could not succeed; and that it was great boldness in her to assume the name and government without him." Pius IV. tried the power of conciliation; but the effort was too late; he invited the queen to send an ambassador to the council of Trent, then sitting; but she replied, "That she could not treat with any Power whose authority the Parliament had declared unlawful." Pius V. had recourse to the ghostly nonsense and impudence of excommunicating Elizabeth; he issued a bull "out of the fulness of his apostolic power," declaring her to have "incurred the sentence of anathema, to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ, and deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever." It is not strange that in retaliation of such gross indignities, it should be made high treason for any British subject to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the pope, or deny that of the queen.

The fatuous and pestilent machinations of the court of Rome in endeavouring to give effect to the bull of Pius was another cause of obloquy and suffering to the English catholics. The bull concluded by saying, "That because it was a matter of too much difficulty to carry these presents to all places where it may be needful, our will is, that the copies thereof, under a public notary's hand, and sealed with the seal of an ecclesiastical prelate, or of his court, shall carry altogether the same credit with all people, judicial and extra-judicial, as these presents should do if they were exhibited." Missionary priests were employed, or at least it was confidently believed at the time, that they were employed, to give effect to the fulminations of the Vatican. A Mr. Felton, who fixed up a copy of the bull on the gate of the bishop of London's palace, was apprehended and executed.

When the Spanish Armada, the noise of which filled all Europe, was preparing to sail, Sixtus V. the reigning pontiff, drew up a manifesto, the contents of which he caused to be made known in England, in which he renewed the sentence of Pius V. concerning the deposition of Elizabeth, whom he deposed anew from all royal dignity, declaring her an usurper, and discharging her subjects from their oaths of fidelity. About the same time cardinal Allen wrote a short treatise to prove that the war of Spain with England was just and necessary, in order to restore the English

catholics to the enjoyment of those rights of which Elizabeth had forcibly deprived them. This is a portion of history which merits the closest attention from those who delight in the everlasting canticle, that *papists think themselves at liberty to break faith with heretics*. At this trying juncture of affairs, the English catholics were suffering most severely under the arbitrary proceedings of the High Commission Court; they had before their eyes and imaginations the racks and fires and gibbets, by which their priests had been tortured and put to death; the popes had repeatedly issued their bulls of deposition against Elizabeth, and done the utmost in their power to make them effectual; at length the most puissant monarch of the age comes forward as the friend of the oppressed catholics, and the champion of the faith, and covers the sea with his armament, which was pronounced invincible. In the room of seizing this as the moment of deliverance and revenge, the English catholics were among the first and most active and determined, to rally round the throne of their sovereign, and repel the invader.* This caused the Spanish admiral to say

* Mr. Hume says, "That though the queen knew that Sixtus V. had absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, had published a crusade against England, and had granted plenary indulgences to every one engaged in the present invasion, she would not believe that all her catholic subjects could be so blinded, as to sacrifice to bigotry their duty to their sovereign, and the liberty and independence of their native coun-

that “if he had landed, he would have made no distinction between the catholic and the protestant, save what could be made by the point of his sword in their flesh.”

try. She rejected all violent counsels, by which she was urged to seek pretences for dispatching the leaders of that party. And the catholics, sensible of this good usage, generally expressed great zeal for the public service. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not expect any trust or authority, entered themselves as volunteers in the fleet or army. Some equipped ships at their own expence, and gave the command of them to protestants; others were active in animating their tenants, and vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their country.”—*History of England, anno 1588.*

“But now, such is our calamity, that it hath pleased God, as I think, for our sins, or else for confounding our bold opinions, and presumptions of our own strength, to put in the hearts of all persons here one like mind and courage, to withstand the intended invasion, as well in such as we accounted catholics, as also in the heretics; so as it appeared manifestly that for all earnest proceeding for arming, and for contributions of money, and for other warlike actions, there was no difference between the catholic and the heretic.”—“In very truth, I now see, that whoever of our friends in Spain or in Flanders made any account of aid against the queen, or against her party here, would have been deceived. For I myself have heard, that the best of those that were sent to Ely (some R. C. gentlemen who were kept as prisoners at large) did make offers to adventure their lives in defence of the queen, whom they named as their undoubted sovereign lady and queen, against all foreign forces, though the same were sent from the pope, or by his command.”—*Copy of an intercepted Letter sent out of England to the king of Spain's ambassador in France, 1588.*—*Harleian Miscel. Vol. II. 65.*

It is, and must ever remain, a foul and indelible blot on the reign of Elizabeth,* that after the execution of Mary queen of Scots, and after the splendid exhibition of unhesitating loyalty and patriotism by every class of subjects, on occasion of the Spanish invasion, the apparatus of persecution continued still in use.

* I was going to say on the *memory* of Elizabeth; but persons well disposed are oftentimes impelled by untoward circumstances to act contrary to their wishes. In such cases, it is hard that when in their graves, they should have that charged upon their memory as a voluntary fault, which they felt and deplored as an inevitable misfortune. Lord Bacon endeavours to prove that the severities of his royal mistress's administration were owing *not to her nature, but to the iniquity of the times*. Let us hear what our great philosopher has to say in support of this pleasing thesis.—“About the twenty-third year of her reign, the face of affairs was quite changed. Nor was this period of time, feigned to serve a turn only, but mentioned in the public records, and engraven as it were in leaves of brass. Nor were her subjects of the Romish religion punished with any severity before that year, though several laws had been enacted against them. But at this time it was by degrees discovered what vast and ambitious designs were laid by Spain, to conquer this kingdom. A great part of this design was to raise a faction in the very heart of the nation, which being no friends to the government, and desirous of alteration, should join with the enemy upon his invasion. This was hoped would be effected upon the difference there was in religion: whereupon they resolved to improve that breach, and priests were sent over from the young seminaries, to raise and increase men's love for the Romish religion, to teach and enforce the validity of the pope's bull, which absolved the queen's subjects from their allegiance, and to excite and prepare the minds of men for an alteration in the government.”

On the death of Elizabeth, which took place the 14th March 1603, the crown passed from the house of Tudor to the house of Stuart, and the kingdoms of England and Scotland were united. James I. had been baptized by a priest, but educated among the presbyterians; and it was confidently expected, that the beginning of his reign

“ In a time of so much danger, queen Elizabeth was obliged by a kind of fatal necessity to enact severe laws, thereby to restrain those of her subjects, who being *averse* to her government, and grown past the hopes of being cured, began to grow rich by the private life they led, being exempted from the charge and burthen of public offices. The original of this spreading evil was charged upon the seminary priests; who were bred up in foreign parts, and maintained by the charity and benevolence of foreign princes, the professed enemies of the realm: who had lived in places, where the best titles they could bestow on queen Elizabeth were those of, *heretic, excommunicated, and damnable fury*; who, though they themselves were not engaged in treasonable practices, yet were known to be the intimate friends of such as were guilty of those villanies, and who, by their artifices and poisonous methods, had depraved the very sacrifice of the mass, which before, was a sweet and harmless thing; and had as it were infected it with a new kind of ferment and pernicious malignity. Whereupon, the only expedient to put a stop to this growing evil was thought to be the prohibiting these men from coming into the land, upon pain of death; which was accordingly enacted in the 27th year of her reign. Nor did the event itself, when so great a storm broke out upon, and threatened the nation, in the least take off from the envy and hatred of these men, but rather increased it; so far had they divested themselves of the love they owed their country. Afterwards when our fears of Spain, (the true occasion of this severity) were over and vanished; yet the memory of the former times was so deeply fixed in the minds and senses

would be distinguished by a mitigation of the penal code, in favour both of the Roman catholics and the puritans. While in Scotland, he praised the Kirk of his own country *as the purest in the world*, and termed the service of the church of England *an evil said mass in English*; but when placed at the head of the British government, and flattered by the clergy as an inspired preacher and a second Solomon, he became a zealous advocate of episcopacy, which he endeavoured to introduce into his native land.

In the first year of his reign, a proclamation was issued ordering priests and jesuits to quit the realm, which was speedily followed by a statute reinforcing the penalties of the preceding reign. The *gunpowder conspiracy* which soon followed afforded a pretext for augmented severities, which were of long duration and poignant distress.

Under the fostering influence of penal laws, the puritans were making rapid advances in numerical strength and popular favour. To accommodate differences with them, the king appointed the conference of Hampton court, in which four puritans had to maintain the controversy against

of most men, and to have abrogated the laws that were once made would have argued so much inconstancy, or to have slighted them would have been a sign of so much indifferency; that queen Elizabeth as cases then stood, did not think it safe for herself, that things should return to the same posture they were in before the 23d. year of her reign. To this may be added the industry of some to increase the revenues of the exchequer."—

Character of Queen Elizabeth.

nine bishops and the king himself, who displayed such superior acuteness in pleading the cause of the mitre, that Whitgift, the archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, "undoubtedly his majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's spirit"; and Bancroft, bishop of London, falling on his knees, protested that "his heart melted for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, had given them such a king, as since Christ's time had not been." After these irresistible strokes of courtly adulation, it became a political axiom with James, *no bishop, no king*. The measures of this feeble-minded and injudicious prince contributed to bring the affairs of the nation to that tremendous crisis in which his son and successor, Charles I., lost his crown together with his life.* In that

* James I. died in 1625, in the 59th year of his age. Burnet, (*Hist. of his own Times*, Vol. I. 19) says that no king could die less lamented or esteemed, that his reign in England was a continued course of mean practices, and that the great figure the crown of England had made in Elizabeth's time was so much eclipsed during his reign, that he was become the scorn of the age.

Another Scotchman, Buchanan, has taken the liberty of saying, that nature committed a mistake in the gender of these two sovereigns.

Rex fuit Elizabeth, nunc vero regina Jacobus.

Error naturæ par in utroque fuit.

In a speech to parliament in which he begged for a supply, James expressed himself thus: "I conclude, then, the point, touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that, as to dispute *what God may do*, is blasphemy, but *what God wills*, that divines may lawfully dispute and discuss; so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power."—*Hume's England*, Chap. 46.

memorable contest between the king and the parliament, the bishops, and the greater portion of the noblemen and paupers of the land united with the former, while the great body of the people in the middle walks of life, who composed the strength and independence of the nation, sided with the latter. The civil war was sometimes, and not wholly without reason, termed *bellum episcopale*; though many episcopalians espoused the cause of the parliament, being disgusted with the arbitrary principles and licentious conduct of the court party. Prayer and fasting, seriousness of temper and strictness of conduct, were turned into derision; and many learned and reputable clergymen were suspended or punished for refusing to profane the sabbath by reading the Book of Sports. Men may be severe and gloomy in their religious deportment without detriment to civil society; but if it is an object to government to make them cheerful, it should be attempted by other means than such as are subversive of mental

To attain unlimited power seems to have been the ruling passion of this prince's breast, and to this the measures of his government were directed. His son and successor was of a more decent and manly character; but he unfortunately adopted the arbitrary principles of his father, and presumed on the passive obedience of his subjects. He endeavoured to set the prerogatives of his crown in commanding pre-eminence over the authority of parliament, and to subject the sectaries of the land to the spiritual dominion of the mitre. But Englishmen were not satisfied that their chief magistrate should be the monarch of slaves.

freedom, and revolting to the moral sense. In 1633, William Laud, who had risen by a gradation of dignities to the see of London, was made archbishop of Canterbury. In addition to the *cure of souls*, he applied himself, with much earnestness, to imprison and torment the bodies of the nonconformists. Under his auspices, Dr. Alexander Leighton, who had written a book against prelacy, was apprehended and brought to trial in the Commission court. His sentence was extremely inhuman and horrible: it was, "That he should be degraded from his ministry, should have his ears cut, his nose slit, be branded in the face, whipped at a post, stand in the pillory, pay ten thousand pounds, and suffer perpetual imprisonment." This sentence being pronounced, Laud uncovered his head, and gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his enemies. In 1637, Laud restrained the liberty of the press by procuring a decree in the Star chamber, whereby it was enjoined, that the master printers should be reduced to a certain number, and that none of them should print any books till they were licensed either by the archbishop, or bishop of London, or some of their chaplains, or by the chancellors of the two universities.

"This haughty prelate executed the plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using these mild and moderate methods, which prudence employs to make

unpopular schemes go down. He carried things with a high hand ; when he found the laws opposing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without hesitation ; he loaded the puritans with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction ; he revived many religious rites and ceremonies, which though stamped with the sanction of antiquity, were marked with the turpitude of superstition ; he forced bishops on the Scots nation. By his unpopular sentiments and violent measures, Laud drew an odium on the king, on himself, and on the episcopal order in general. Hence, in the year 1644, he was brought before the public tribunals of justice, declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to lose his head, on a scaffold, which sentence was accordingly executed.”*

To the Star Chamber, and High Commission Court, was added another tribunal called the Council Table, all of which continued their dark and despotic functions till they were abolished by the long parliament. The prisons were thrown open, and the victims of regal and episcopal persecution set at liberty.†

* Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. Vol. V. 393.

† These infamous Courts acted in proud defiance of law, justice, and humanity ; and were powerfully instrumental in bringing about the abolition of monarchy and episcopacy. In a remonstrance addressed to the king, the parliament adverted to the “extravagant censures of the Star chamber, whereby

Throughout the reign of Charles I. the houses of Roman catholics were subject to the visits of state officers, called Pursuivants, who could enter at what hour they pleased, and seize books, plate, or any other articles of furniture, which were suspected of even the most distant connection with the proscribed worship.

In 1640, the year before the civil war commenced, the clergy held a convocation, and issued constitutions and canons, requiring that all "ecclesiastical persons within their several parishes and jurisdictions, should confer privately with popish recusants; but if private conference prevail not, the church must and shall come to her censures. And to make way for them, such persons shall be presented at the next visitation,

the subject had been oppressed by fines, imprisonments, stigmatizing, mutilations, whippings, pillories, gags, confinements, banishments; the severe and illegal proceedings of the Council Table, and other newly erected judicatories; and the suspensions, excommunications, and deprivations, of learned and pious ministers by the High Commission Court."—*Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion and Civil Wars begun in 1641, Book IV. 317.*

The fairest way of depicting the genius of these tribunals is by recording a few of their acts. In 1632, William Prynne, a lawyer and antiquarian of repute, published *Histrio-mastix*, a work in which he had expressed his thoughts with great freedom and some acrimony against theatrical exhibitions. This book contained severe strictures on "women-actors," which were construed to be levelled against the queen who took part in the performance of a pastoral in Somerset-house after the publication of the *Histrio-mastix*. For this offence Prynne was prosecuted in the Star chamber, and sentenced to pay a

who come not to church, and refuse to receive the holy eucharist, or who either hear or say mass ; and if they remain obstinate after citation, they shall be excommunicated. But if neither conferences nor censures prevail, the church shall then complain of them to the civil power, and this sacred synod does earnestly entreat the reverend justices of assize, to be careful in executing the laws, as they will answer it to God.

The synod further declares, that the canons above mentioned against papists shall be in full force against all anabaptists, Brownists, separatists and other sectaries, as far as applicable."

We shall pass over the twenty years of intestine

fine of £5000 to the king, to be expelled the University of Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn ; to be degraded from his profession of the law, to stand twice in the pillory, losing an ear each time, and to remain prisoner for life. This sentence was executed in all its rigour, chiefly at the instigation of Laud, who was mortally offended at Prynne's previous attacks on arminianism and episcopacy. In a short time, another publication against prelacy appeared, entitled "News from Ipswich," supposed to be written by Prynne, for which he was again sentenced by the Star chamber to a fine of £5000, to stand in the pillory, to lose the remnants of his ears, and to have his cheeks branded with the letters S. L. for schismatic libeller. Prynne had two companions in suffering, Burton, a deprived clergyman, and Bastwick, a physician. They were sent to remote prisons, where they were kept without having the use of ink and paper, and where none of their friends were allowed to see them, till they were released by the Long parliament.—

Aikin's General Biography, art. Prynne.—Ivimey's Hist. of the Baptists, Vol. I. 147.

commotion, which elapsed between the last date and the Restoration of Charles II. which took place in 1660. Immediately after this event, the Corporation Act was passed. It was designed to debar from municipal offices, all persons not conforming to the doctrines and rites of the established church. Just before the passing of this Act, the king issued a declaration from Breda, in which he avowed his determination to "grant indulgence to tender consciences," and solemnly promised "that no person should be called in question for differences of religion, which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

An attempt was soon after made to pass a law in the House of Commons to the same effect as the king's declaration; but it was opposed by one of the Secretaries of State, which was considered a sufficient indication of the king's averseness to it. In the third year of the restoration, the Act of Uniformity was re-enacted, and enforced with fatal vigour. An oath of canonical obedience was exacted, together with the abjuration of the *solemn league and covenant*, and the *taking arms upon any PRETENCE WHATSOEVER against the king, or any commissioned by him.*

Unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book of common prayer was demanded. It was also decreed "That from and after the feast of St. Bartholomew, 24th of August 1662, no incumbent in possession of any parsonage, vicarage, or be-

nifice, that was not in holy orders *by episcopal ordination*, should enjoy the same, but be *ipso facto* deprived." The clause requiring "unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing in the book of common prayer," was a bold experiment on the implicit faith and ready obedience of the clergy; for this book with *alterations and amendments* by the convocation, came out of the press a few days only before the 24th of August, so that of the seven thousand who conformed and kept their livings, very few could have known what they religiously bound themselves to believe, to teach and to practise.*

The two thousand who refused to conform, many of whom were men of great experience and learning, were not only ejected from their livings without any compensation being allowed them, but were likewise silenced, so far as the law could

* Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life and Times, Vol. I. 201.—Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. 266. 269. 279.

Bishop Burnet has mentioned some of the alterations and amendments made in the book of common prayer. "A collect was drawn for the parliament, in which a new epithet was added to the king's title, which gave great offence, and occasioned much indecent raillery; he was stiled our *most religious king*."

"The convocation added some new holy days, St. Barnabas and the conversion of St. Paul, and took in more lessons out of the Apocrypha, in particular the story of Bell and the Dragon. New offices were also drawn for two new days the 30th of January, called *king Charles the martyr*, and the 29th of May, the day of the king's birth and return."

silence them. In classing the Act of uniformity with penal statutes, we put it among its true kindred; for as a measure of internal police in the established church, it has been unproductive of unity; and it is evident from the circumstances under which it was passed, that it was not intended so much as an instrument of orthodoxy and concord to those who would agree in it, as of annoyance and warfare to those who would not.

In 1663, the Conventicle Act was passed, in order to suppress the private meetings of the non-conformists. It provided that every person above sixteen years of age who is present at any meeting under colour or pretence of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the Liturgy, when there are five persons more than the household assembled, shall, for the first offence, recorded by a justice of the peace, pay a fine of five pounds, for the second offence, a fine of ten pounds, and for a third offence be exiled to some part of America, New England excepted.

Two years after the passing of the Conventicle Act, another addition was made to the penal code by the parliament which sat at Oxford. This is sometimes called the Oxford, and sometimes the Five mile, Act. By this, all ministers who should refuse to swear, *Not to endeavour at any time, any alteration of government in church or state*, were debarred from inhabiting corporate towns, or coming within five miles of them; nor must they

live in any place where they had formerly exercised their pastoral functions.*

* Calamy's Abridgment, &c. Vol. I. 308. 311.—Burnet, Vol. I. 298. 329.

In 1665, the plague raged in and about London. The earl of Clarendon moved the king to go to Salisbury. But the plague broke out there, so the court went to Oxford. Many of the ministers of London were driven away by the plague—many churches shut up; upon which, some of the non-conformist ministers preached in the empty pulpits, with good success; but not without reflecting on the sins of the court, and on the ill-usage themselves had experienced. Such were the provocations to the severity of the Oxford Act.

To justify, in general, the severities inflicted by the penal statutes passed in the five first years after the Restoration, the casuists of the time did not fail to bring forward the legislation of the puritans in the time of the interregnum. An ordinance of parliament for the more effectual execution of the Directory was passed on the 23d. of August, 1645. The purport of this ordinance was “That if any person or persons whatsoever, should at any time or times afterwards, use the book of common prayer, or cause it to be used, in any church, chapel, or public place of worship, or in any private place or family; that every person so offending, should for the first offence forfeit and pay the sum of £5; for the second offence the sum of £10; and for the third offence should suffer one whole year's imprisonment, without bail or mainprise. Every minister that did not use the Directory, was, for every time that he did so offend, to forfeit the sum of 40s. And any that should preach, write, or print, or cause to be written or printed, any thing in the derogation or depraving of the said book, should forfeit for every such offence, such a sum of money, as should at the time of his conviction be thought fit to be imposed upon him, by those before whom he was tried; provided it was not less than £5 and not exceeding the sum of £50. And all such fines were ordered to go to the use of the poor. This Ordi-

In 1673, the Test Act was passed. It is in law statute 25 Car. II. cap. 2, which directs all officers, civil and military, to take the oaths, and make the declaration against transubstantiation, within six months after their admission; and also within the same time to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England, immediately after divine service, and to deliver into court a certificate thereof, signed by the minister and church warden, and also to prove the same by two credible witnesses, upon pain of forfeiting £500, and of being disqualified for the said office.*

nance is I confess an evidence, of what is too plain to be denied, that all parties when they have been uppermost, have been too apt to bear hard on those that have been under them. But it deserves a remark, that even by this ordinance as severe as it was, no encouragement was given to mercenary informers; and the instances of persons dealt with according to this ordinance were very few: I wish I could say the same with respect to the Act of Uniformity, the Five Mile Act, and the Act against Conventicles, which were passed against non-conformists after the Restoration."—*Calamy's Abridg. Vol. I. 186.*

* *Calamy's Abridg. Vol. I. 337.*—*Burnet Vol. 2. 80.*—*Evelyn's Memoir Vol. I. 462.*

After the passing of this act, the duke of York, afterwards James II. who was a Roman catholic, threw up his commission, as general of the army, together with all his other places. Clifford, the lord Treasurer, also resigned. The people at this time were thrown into a panic, by a large army encamped on Blackheath, in which were many officers believed to be Roman catholics. The Test Act was designed to prevent the danger apprehended from the presumptive heir to the throne,

In 1678, Roman catholic peers were disabled from sitting in the upper house of Parliament in consequence of Oates's plot. The statute for their exclusion (30 Car. II. cap. 1.) contained a declaration, commonly called *the declaration against popery*, denying transubstantiation, and asserting the invocation of the virgin Mary, and other saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, to be superstitious and idolatrous. It prescribed that no peer should vote or make his proxy in the house, or sit there during the debates; and that no member of the house of Commons should vote in the house, or sit there during any debate, until he should first take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and make and subscribe the declaration contained in the act. A little before the

and others of the same religious persuasion; the protestant dissenters, if they did not concur in it, at least offered no opposition, although the Test operated as completely to their political degradation as to that of the Roman catholics.

To this Act Cowper refers in some lines characteristic of his muse:—

“Hast thou by *statute* show'd from its design
The Saviour's feast, his own blest bread and wine,
And made the symbols of atoning grace
An office key, a picklock to a place,
That infidels may prove their title good
By an oath dipp'd in sacramental blood?
A blot that will be still a blot, in spite
Of all that grave apologists may write;
And though a bishop toil to cleanse the stain,
He wipes and scours the silver cup in vain.”

Expostulation.

passing of this bill, the house of Commons came to a resolution, that there existed "an execrable and hellish design of murdering the king, subverting the government, and destroying the protestant religion."

The members of parliament spent much time and took great pains in searching into this plot, which was sufficiently intricate to confound *Ædipus* himself. A king whose great object was to be above the laws, and who, as far as he was inclined to any religion, was inclined to that of the church of Rome, was to be assassinated with silver bullets, in order to make way for popery and arbitrary power. Men, not worthy of credit in matters the most trivial, and probable, were listened to and believed deposing the most incredible things against the fortunes and lives of reputable persons. In times of agitation, there will always be artful speculators ready to trump up plots and conspiracies, and to find scope for their own knavery through other mens' fears and embarrassment; just as pick-pockets take advantage of a fog, or of a tumultuous concourse of people.

"In the house of Commons, the bill passed without any difficulty; but in the house of Lords, Gunning, bishop of Ely, maintained, that the church of Rome was not idolatrous. He was answered by Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln. The Lords did not much mind Gunning's arguments, but passed the bill. And though Gunning had

said, that he could not take that test with a good conscience, yet, as soon as the bill was passed, he took it in the crowd with the rest. The duke got a *proviso* to be put in it for excepting himself. He spoke upon that occasion with great earnestness, and with tears in his eyes. He said, he was now to cast himself upon their favour in the greatest concern he could have in this world. He spoke much of his duty to the king, and of his zeal for the nation: and solemnly protested, that, whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and that no effect of it should ever appear in the government. The *proviso* was carried for him by a few voices. And, contrary to all mens' expectations, it passed in the house of Commons."*

I have omitted to mention that in the year 1670, the Act against Conventicles was renewed and its severity augmented. Assemblies held in the fields were declared treasonable, landlords for allowing them on their lands were liable to heavy fines; and any one present could be punished arbitrarily for not discovering all that were there. To preach in the open air was punishable by death. It was determined that all doubtful clauses in the Act should be understood in the sense most adverse to Conventicles, and that any who fled from one county to another to avoid the legal penalties should be pursued by execution.†

* Burnet's Own Times, Vol. II. 211.

† Immediately after the renovation and enlargement of the

The extreme sufferings of the nonconformists led them to seek relief by methods very inconsistent with their principles. Some endeavoured to bring about a relaxation of the laws by which the hierarchy was established, in order that they might be *comprehended* within its enclosure, while

Conventicle Act, the archbishop of Canterbury caused a circular letter to be sent to the bishops in his province, instructing them, and calling on them to instruct all under them, to take notice of the frequenters and abettors of unlawful assemblies under pretence of religious worship; and wherever they found such, to "address themselves to the civil magistrate, justices, and others concerned, imploring their help and assistance for suppressing the same, according to the late said Act, in that behalf made and set forth."—*Calamy's Abridg. Vol. I. 328.*

Dr. Stillingfleet, at that time dean of St. Paul's, delivered a sermon before the Lord Mayor, on the mischief of separation, in which he cautioned the non-conformists *not to be always complaining of their hardships*. To this Dr. John Owen replied, that the non-conformists, "After so many of them have died in common gaols, so many have endured long imprisonments, not a few being at this day in the same durance; so many driven from their habitations into a wandering condition, to preserve for a while the liberty of their persons; so many have been reduced unto want and penury, by the taking away of their goods; and from some the very instruments of their livelihood; after the persecutions which have been against them in all courts of justice in this nation, on informations, indictments, and suits, to the great charge of all of them who are so persecuted, and the ruin of some; after so many ministers and their families have been brought into the utmost outward streights which nature can subsist under; after all their perpetual fears and dangers wherewith they have been exercised and disquieted, think it hard they should be complained of, for complaining."—*Calamy's Abridg. Vol. I. 354.*

others availed themselves of an *occasional conformity* as a subterfuge from the penalties of the law. Recourse was also had to the king's declaration of *indulgence*, or in other words, to his prerogative as head of the church, to grant a dispensation for non-compliance with the laws of the realm, in matters ecclesiastical. There was a similar inconsistency in the opposite party, the bishops and clergy, who on this occasion opposed the supremacy of the king's pleasure, and called out for the execution of the laws. The experiment however was made, and the king issued a declaration of indulgence, the preamble to which stated, that there had been "very little fruit of the forcible courses and frequent ways of coercion that had been used for reducing erring and dissenting persons." His majesty therefore "by virtue of his supreme power in matters ecclesiastical, took upon him to suspend all penal laws about them; declaring that he would grant a convenient number of meeting-places to men of all sorts who did not conform, provided they took out licenses, set open the doors to all comers, and did not preach seditiously, or against the discipline of the church of England; saving, that the papists were to confine their worship to their dwelling houses, not being restricted as to the number of persons or places, or the necessity of getting approbation." The indulgence was applauded by some and censured by others. And in the next session of parliament it was superseded by a decision of the

house of Commons, "That his majesty's pretended power of suspending the penal laws in matters ecclesiastical might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and to alter the legislative power."

It has been imagined, that the king the more readily consented to, if he did not otherwise forward, the harsh laws enacted against the nonconformists, in order that they might be disposed to avail themselves of relief through the exercise of his prerogative, by means of which he could lighten the burdens laid upon his Roman catholic subjects, whose principles he had imbibed, and whom he wished to favour.

Charles II. died 1685 in the fifty-fourth year of his age. In his illness, he complained much of an inward burning; and on his being opened, some appearances were seen which indicated poison. He was waited on by lady Portsmouth, his favourite concubine, and also by several bishops; but he preferred the religious services of Mr. Huddleston, a priest, who had been a principal means of saving his life at the battle of Worcester, and who, on that account, was exempted from the penalties which the law annexed to his profession. The private life of this prince was profligate, and his public, inglorious. His chief conquests were made on the rights and liberties of his subjects; a species of war in which a king may possibly obtain victories, but can gather no garlands except a wreath of nightshade. In generous

minds, the love of power is always accompanied with the desire of doing good and of deserving the applause of the present and of future generations. But this prince was indolent and careless as to any thing great and noble; he was also unmoved by the disgrace he brought on the nation by the failure of his foreign projects; and his base and ungrateful disposition allowed him to wallow in costly and effeminate pleasures, while thousands of his subjects, among whom were many who had contributed to his restoration, were involved in hard and unmerited sufferings. In addition to the infelicity of living under the distracting influence of impiety, voluptuousness, and superstition, this prince had the misfortune to be surrounded by parasites, who catered for his passions, and paid homage to his errors and prejudices.*

The deceased monarch was succeeded by his brother James II. who professed an aversion to arbitrary power and a love of religious liberty. His conduct, however, soon proved that he was devoted to the former, and that he did not understand the latter. No addition was made to the penal code in his short and troubled reign, a happiness to be attributed, not to the legislative wisdom of the age, but to contingent circumstances. The committee for managing the affairs of the church drew up an address, calling on the king to execute the laws against non-conformists;

* Burnet's Own Times, Vol. II.—Evelyn's Memoir, Vol. I. 583.

but it was dropped, on the supposition that it would give offence, as the king himself was a non-conformist. Several of them, however, suffered under the inhuman Jefferies. This drunken ruffian, who in the late reign had been made chief justice, was not only continued in office, but also created a baron. This elevation to the peerage, taking place immediately after the judge returned from his legal butcheries in the western counties, seemed like a remuneration for the atrocious barbarities he had committed.

Encroachments on political freedom are never so dangerous as when conducted with moderation, and supported by deep insight into men and things. The illicit and arbitrary conduct of James II. was deficient in these momentous particulars ; and therefore, in the room of proving fatal to the liberties of the nation, brought about the glorious Revolution of 1689, which placed the Prince of Orange on the throne, and introduced new and more liberal maxims of legislation into parliament, and a more equitable and generous spirit into the executive government.

Printed by S. SMITH, Jun.

Bailey's New-Street, Waterford.

ERRATA.

Page 312, for Menur, *read* Menu.

— 442, (note) for potentibus, *read* petentibus.

ERRATA.

Page 312, for Mann, read Mann.
— 412 (note) for potential, read potential.

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Bd.: 2

Waterford (1823)

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